

*THE volumes of the University of Michigan
Studies are published by authority of the
Executive Board of the Graduate School of
the University of Michigan. A list of the
volumes thus far published or arranged for
is given at the end of this volume.*

University of Michigan Studies

HUMANISTIC SERIES

VOLUME XIII

FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAIRO
GENIZAH IN THE FREER
COLLECTION



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY,

NEW YORK • BOSTON • CHICAGO

DALLAS • SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED

LONDON • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • MADRAS
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.

TORONTO

FRAGMENTS
FROM THE
CAIRO GENIZAH
IN THE
FREER COLLECTION

EDITED BY
RICHARD GOTTHEIL
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
AND
WILLIAM H. WORRELL
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, LTD.

1927

All rights reserved

31538

DS
135
E4
968
1927

COPYRIGHT, 1927,
BY FRANCIS W. KELSEY, EDITOR.

Published May 1927.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY W. LEWIS, M.A., AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE.

PREFACE

THE documents from the Cairo Genizah published in this volume were obtained by Mr Charles L. Freer in Egypt in 1908. They now form a part of the collections in the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

In December, 1906, Mr Freer had purchased at Gizeh the now well-known Greek manuscripts of Deuteronomy and Joshua, the Gospels and the Psalms, and fragments of a manuscript of the Epistles of Paul. A report upon them was made by Professor Henry A. Sanders at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Chicago at the end of December, 1907. Much interest was aroused; and since it seemed probable that the manuscripts had been found in the ruins of a monastery and had formed a part of a monastic library, Mr Freer resolved to spare no effort to obtain other portions of the same collection in case such should have been brought to light. With this in mind, he made a special trip to Egypt in 1908. The most diligent inquiry, however, failed to elicit information that would lead to the recovery of other Greek manuscripts of value; but in his quest Mr Freer did secure some Coptic parchments, in which was included a Psalter, and the Genizah fragments.

The Coptic Psalter was handed to me by Mr Freer in Detroit on September 15, 1908. A few days later his Curator brought to me at the University of Michigan the remaining Coptic leaves and the Genizah documents. All this material was at once examined by Dr William H. Worrell. The Coptic Psalter and the other leaves afterwards were published by Mr Worrell in Volume X of the Humanistic Series of the University of Michigan Studies; in the same series, Volumes VIII and IX, Mr Sanders had already published the Greek manuscripts.

Learning of the presence of the Genizah documents in Detroit, and appreciating, as few scholars would, their value as source material for the history of an obscure but important period, Professor Richard Gottheil in 1912 undertook to prepare them for publication. He had accomplished the extremely difficult task of transcribing the texts when the war broke out. Responding to the call of duty, with much personal sacrifice and risk to health, he devoted himself to humanitarian work in New York until the Armistice, and beyond.

Resuming his preparation of the Genizah material as soon as possible, he finished the first draft of the translation of nearly all the documents, and had commenced the preparation of notes, when an accumulation of work, due to having been called to spend an academic year at the University of Strasbourg, obliged him to ask to be relieved from further responsibility for the completion of the volume.

Very reluctantly the request of Professor Gottheil was granted, and he placed all the material in the hands of Professor Worrell in November, 1924. It is not possible to distinguish by marks the work of the two scholars, but for the final form of the volume Professor Worrell is alone responsible. Professor Gottheil personally examined certain Genizah documents in the Taylor-Schechter, Bodleian, British Museum and Paris Consistoire collections; and his name is therefore given with the observations bearing upon these collections. Similarly his name is mentioned in a number of other instances in which Mr Worrell was unable to verify sources or to express a personal opinion. Dr Samuel Feigin worked out No. XLIV independently, and that number has been printed just as it came from his pen, entirely upon his responsibility.

Professor A. Marx, Professor Ginzberg, and Professor Israel Davidson, all of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Mr David Yellin, of Jerusalem, and Mr B. Chapira, of Paris, assisted Professor Gottheil with particular matters which have been acknowledged in their place. Mr Leon Nemoy, of Yale University, verified references to books in distant libraries. Anne MacKenzie Worrell gave vital assistance with references, analyses, manuscript, and proof. The Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, the Case Memorial Library, Hartford, Ct., the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, and the University of Michigan, loaned books of reference. To all of these the editors unite in expressing their indebtedness.

The heliotype plates of the volume were executed by the Heliotype Company, in Boston, under the direction of Mr W. C. Ramsay. The cost of publication was defrayed from the Freer Research and Publication Fund of the University of Michigan.

FRANCIS W. KELSEY.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
July 10, 1926.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION :

	PAGE
i. The Cairo Genizah	xi
ii. The Freer Collection	xiv
iii. The Paper	xiv
iv. The Handwriting	xiv
v. The Dating	xvi
vi. The Language and Languages	xvi
vii. Arabic	xviii
viii. Hebrew and Aramaic	xxii
ix. Contents	xxiii
x. Geography	xxiv
xi. Biography	xxiv
xii. Jew and Gentile	xxvi
xiii. Marriage	xxvii
xiv. Religion, Learning, Superstition	xxvii
xv. Commerce and Manufacture	xxviii
xvi. Proper Names	xxix
xvii. Purpose and Plan of Publication	xxx

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES :

I. Two Documents	1
II. Letter	12
III. Letter	18
IV. Letter	24
V. Letter	26
VI. Halachic Fragment	30
VII. Memorandum	32
VIII. Letter	36
IX. Letter	44
X. A Leaf from a Prayer-Book	56
XI. Bill of Divorce	58
XII. Letter	62
XIII. List of Tax-Payers	66
XIV. Leaf from a Merchant's Note-Book	72
XV. Charm	76
XVI. Document	82
XVII. Penitential Hymn	84
XVIII. Leaf from a Merchant's Note-Book	86
XIX. Poetic Fragments upon the Back of an Arabic Document	88
XX. Leaf from a Book of Poems	90
XXI. Letter	94
XXII. A Business Letter	96
XXIII. Notes on the Back of a Letter	100

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES (<i>contd.</i>):		PAGE
XXIV.	Charm	106
XXV.	A Scrap of Paper	108
XXVI.	Letter	112
XXVII.	Letter	116
XXVIII.	Part of a Letter	130
XXIX.	Pizmōnīm	134
XXX.	Part of a Letter	138
XXXI.	Part of a Letter	142
XXXII.	Part of a Letter	146
XXXIII.	Letter	150
XXXIV.	Letter	156
XXXV.	Letter	160
XXXVI.	An Accounting	164
XXXVII.	Letter	170
XXXVIII.	Poetic Biblical Paraphrases	172
XXXIX.	Fragment of Maimonides	176
XL.	Leaves from the Note-Book of a Marriage Broker	178
XLI.	Letter	190
XLII.	Liturgical Memoranda	194
XLIII.	Agreement in Regard to the Academy at al-Ramlah	196
XLIV.	Halachic Fragment	202
XLV.	Leaves from a Note-Book	218
XLVI.	A Page from a Prayer-Book	226
XLVII.	Letter	228
XLVIII.	Letter	236
XLIX.	Letter from a Lady	242
L.	Three Letters of Complaint	246
INDEXES :		
	Index of Subjects	267
	Index of Proper Names	269
	Arabic and Hebrew	273

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE		FACING PAGE
I.	Fragment 1 a	2
II.	Fragment 1 b	3
III.	Fragment 2 a	12
IV.	Fragment 2 b	13
V.	Fragment 3 a	18
VI.	Fragment 3 b	19
VII.	Fragment 4	24
VIII.	Fragment 5 a	26
IX.	Fragment 5 b	27
X.	Fragment 7	32
XI.	Fragment 8 a	36
XII.	Fragment 8 b	37
XIII.	Fragment 9 a	44
XIV.	Fragment 9 b	45
XV.	Fragment 12	62
XVI.	Fragment 14 a	72
XVII.	Fragment 14 b	73
XVIII.	Fragment 15 a	76
XIX.	Fragment 15 b	77
XX.	Fragment 16 a	82
XXI.	Fragment 16 b	83
XXII.	Fragment 21	94
XXIII.	Fragment 22	96
XXIV.	Fragment 23	100
XXV.	Fragment 26	112
XXVI.	Fragment 27 a	116
XXVII.	Fragment 27 b	117
XXVIII.	Fragment 28	130
XXIX.	Fragment 30	138
XXX.	Fragment 31	142
XXXI.	Fragment 32	146
XXXII.	Fragment 33 a	150
XXXIII.	Fragment 33 b	151
XXXIV.	Fragment 34 a	156
XXXV.	Fragment 34 b	157
XXXVI.	Fragment 35 a	160
XXXVII.	Fragment 35 b	161
XXXVIII.	Fragment 36	164
XXXIX.	Fragment 37	170
XLI.	Fragment 40 a	178
XLI.	Fragment 40 b	179

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE		FACING PAGE
XLII.	Fragment 41	190
XLIII.	Fragment 42a	194
XLIV.	Fragment 42b	195
XLV.	Fragment 43a	196
XLVI.	Fragment 43b	197
XLVII.	Fragment 45a	218
XLVIII.	Fragment 45b	219
XLIX.	Fragment 47	228
L.	Fragment 48	236
LI.	Fragment 50a	246
LII.	Fragment 50b	252

INTRODUCTION¹

i. THE CAIRO GENIZAH

THE Hebrew word *genizāh* means "safe-keeping," "hiding," "archive," "treasury," "hiding-place." Specifically it means a depository where worn-out, heretical, or disgraced books, written or printed, useless documents and letters, or other objects of pious solicitude, are stored.

Genizahs among Jews, and similar institutions among Christians, owe their origin doubtless to the feeling that objects hallowed by religious or personal use and association may not be destroyed even though they have ceased to be useful. Fear of profanation leads to the practice of hiding them, in walls or attics, in the ground, or with the dead, in order that, like the beloved dead, they may remain forever safe until obliterated by Time, under the dispensation of Providence. In Europe and elsewhere a corner of the graveyard was set apart for this purpose². There is such a place in Florence³, marked by an appropriate inscription. In the ancient Coptic "Red Monastery" at Sohaj worn-out prayer-books, vestments, and altar-paraphernalia are thrown into a pit. The theological motivation among the Jews is the protection of the Divine Name from desecration. Genizah papers are indeed sometimes called *shemōth*, "names." Islam shows a similar solicitude for any piece of writing or printing, because it almost certainly contains the Name of God⁴.

The word *genizāh* has now become a proper name, designating the literary limbo of the ancient Synagogue of Elijah⁵ in Old Cairo. The Genizah and its contents have had a long history which unfortunately cannot yet be written because of the incompleteness and hear-say character of the evidence. From the account of Mr E. N. Adler in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, pp. 612 ff., we learn that the Synagogue was originally a Christian church, bearing the name of St Michael. Chosroes, partly as an enemy of the faith of Byzantium, and partly no doubt as the heir of Cyrus, in 616 turned the Synagogue over to the Jews. Benjamin of Tudela visited it in the twelfth century, and thought it a very ancient place. The great Egyptian

¹ Large Roman numerals in parentheses indicate the fragments in the Freer collection ; and Arabic numerals in parentheses indicate the pages of the present volume.

² For genizah ceremonies see *Revue des Écoles de l'Alliance*, 1901, p. 103.

³ Cf. *Giornale della Società Asiatica*, 1918-20, p. 97.

⁴ Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, ch. xiii.

⁵ Or Ezra, or Moses. See also the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, pp. 60 ff.; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vi, pp. 187 ff.; Steinschneider in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. x, p. 89; also the many articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

antiquary, al-Maḳrīzī (A.D. 1364–1442), writes: “Synagogue of the Syrians: This synagogue is in the street of Ḳaṣr al-Sham’, of the city of Cairo, and it is ancient. There is an inscription above its door, in the Hebrew writing, engraven in the wood, to the effect that it was built in the year 336 of Alexander (A.D. 24), which is about 45 years before the second destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus (A.D. 70), and 600 years before the Hijrah (A.D. 622). And in this synagogue there is a copy of the Law which all agree to be entirely in the handwriting of the Prophet Ezra.” No doubt Mann is right, and we are to understand that the inscription read “(1)336” of the Seleucid Era, which is A.D. 1024 (*The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, vol. ii, p. 375). Simon van Geldern at about 1750, and Jacob Saphir in 1864, both saw the Synagogue and its genizah, and recognised the value of their treasures.

Mrs Agnes Smith Lewis tells us casually⁶ that the first known Genizah leaves were brought to Europe by Dr Lansing; but there appears to be no support for the statement. Mr E. N. Adler in 1888 visited the Synagogue; but he did not succeed in seeing the contents of the Genizah, for he was told that they had been buried. In the early nineties Professor Gottheil used to see the desk of Dr Neubauer, the sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, covered with portions of books which Dr Neubauer told him had come from the East, his professional discretion not permitting him to disclose their exact source. The Bodleian catalogue makes the statement that in 1890 the Rev. J. Chester bought some leaves in Cairo for the Bodleian Library, and adds that “the credit of first recognising their possible value to Hebrew literature belongs to Dr Neubauer.” In *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Semitic Series, parts 4–6, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles II*, 1895) Dr Neubauer published a chronicle which had evidently come from the Cairo Genizah⁷. In January, 1896, Mr Adler again came to Egypt, and, with the knowledge and help of the Chief Rabbi of Egypt, he took away a sackful of parchment and paper leaves.

On May 13th, 1897, Dr Schechter observed in a bundle of fragments brought from southern Palestine by Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson, a time-worn leaf of the lost Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus⁸. With the promptness which was characteristic of him, Professor Schechter set out immediately for Cairo with the single purpose of bringing back the entire contents of the Genizah to Cambridge. Armed with an introduction to Lord Cromer he went to Egypt. A word from the latter to the Jewish authorities in Cairo opened up the old chamber. Professor Schechter was able to take away with him in sacks, at his own estimate, not less than one hundred thousand pieces of vellum and paper. He has given an account of this visit in his article, “A Horde of Hebrew Manuscripts⁹.”

One doubts, however, whether Schechter brought back all that was in the Genizah. Undoubtedly the place had been plundered before his

⁶ *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lxi, p. 631.

⁷ P. xi.

⁸ S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambridge, 1899, page v.

⁹ *Studies in Judaism*, Second Series, 1908, pp. 9 ff.

coming¹⁰, and he was cheated by the men who worked with and for him. Mrs Lewis⁶ tells us that leaves were somehow stolen between the packing and unpacking; and that she personally bought some of these from dealers in Cairo. At any rate, a lot of the material had escaped. The Jews themselves had taken the overflow of the Genizah proper, and buried it in their cemetery in the desert, called al-Basātīn, where they had constructed several underground chambers for the purpose. From this place Professor Gottheil in 1910 secured fragments, both early and late. So much had escaped that there is hardly a large library in Europe that is without its collection of Genizah fragments. Of first importance in this respect are the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Jewish Consistory of Paris, the Royal Library of Berlin, the Municipal Library of Frankfurt and the library of the Archduke Rainer, in Vienna. Many private collections also possess them. Dropsie College, Philadelphia, is the custodian of some four hundred and fifty documents, apparently from the Cairo Genizah¹¹.

No list has ever been made, nor is one likely soon to be made, of all the places where Genizah fragments have found a resting-place.

The contents of Mr Adler's famous "sack" were brought to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York, where they are at the disposition of American scholars; and the great mass of material removed officially by Professor Schechter is now the Taylor-Schechter collection at Cambridge.

It seems certain that the Genizah, once filled to overflowing—literally overflowing into the community cemetery—is now emptied of everything of value. The three most recent visits disclosed nothing but printed matter. But a great deal may still be in the hands of dealers.

¹⁰ The Synagogue had been repaired some time before Schechter's visit, most probably about 1890, shortly after which date the Genizah material began to appear at the Bodleian. To quote from a reliable correspondent, whose name cannot be mentioned: "Before the late Dr Schechter transferred its remains to Cambridge, many dealers helped themselves to small bundles of fragments which they would obtain by bakhshish from the beadle of the old Synagogue at Fustāṭ (Old Cairo), where the Genizah had been discovered in an attic as a result of the work of repairing the Synagogue. The workmen on tearing down the roof dumped all the contents of this attic into the court-yard, and there the MSS were lying for several weeks in the open. During these weeks many dealers could obtain bundles of leaves for nominal sums. They later sold these bundles at good prices to several tourists and libraries."

But the Genizah was known in 1750 and 1864, as we have seen, and hence could not be "discovered." Also, if "all the contents" were dumped into the court-yard, they must have been restored, in part at least, to the Genizah before Schechter's visit in 1897, for he found them there. In view of all the statements, perhaps the contents of the Genizah and the entrance to it, were always known to the Synagogue authorities. They deceived Adler upon his first visit, in 1888, with a conventional answer: The contents of a genizah are regularly buried. Before the repairs, the contents and their whereabouts were well known, but not their value. That fact appeared to the Synagogue authorities only after they had seen the beadle sell to the dealers.

¹¹ Formerly in the (Cyrus) Adler, Sulzberger, Amram, Friedenwald, and Cobern collections. These, together with other Genizah material in Philadelphia, are characterised by the late Dr B. Halper in his *Descriptive Catalogue* (1924).

The Genizah documents which have thus far been examined have contributed immensely to the history of the Jews in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Egypt. Before the discovery little was known of the government of the communities, their tastes and activities, their daily lives. The article "Egypt" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, written in 1903, in the absence of a second edition of that work has been overtaken by the excellent book of Dr Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fātimid Caliphs* (Oxford, 1920-22). It is hoped, however, that some day all the Genizah material will be published in the original texts, and with logical or chronological sequence, in a *Corpus Geniziacorum*; and that before long some body of scholars and some Maecenas will be found to undertake the task.

ii. THE FREER COLLECTION

The Genizah documents edited in the present volume were purchased by Mr Charles L. Freer of Detroit in the year 1908, from a dealer in Gizeh. Nothing further is known of their provenance. They were probably picked up by the curious or the speculative at the time when the Synagogue was being repaired. Every Egyptian knows the negotiable value of antiquities, particularly of inscribed leaves. It is, of course, also possible that they were dug up by natives after being regularly buried by the authorities of the Synagogue. It is even possible that they never were in the Synagogue, but that they were obtained from some ancient cemetery, where they had been originally buried with the dead.

The Freer collection of Genizah documents has been placed in the Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D.C.

iii. THE PAPER

All the fragments are written upon Paper.

Nos. V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XV, XIX, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, and XLVI are without screen-marks. Nos. I, II, III, IV, XI, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVI, XL, XLVIII, and XLIX have coarse, and Nos. XXII, XXXVII, XLI, XLVII, and L, fine screen-marks.

Watermarks are to be found on Nos. XXVII and L. The former is apparently a mailed torso, and the latter a hand-and-star such as was employed by manufacturers in France, Switzerland, and Sicily, between A.D. 1490 and 1590, according to Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (1907).

iv. THE HANDWRITING

Although some of the hands betray a familiarity with Arabic writing (XXVII), there is very little of Arabic writing to be found in the collection. The instances are: Nos. XVI (entire), XXVII and XXXV (addresses), II and XIX (scrawls on the back which we have not attempted to explain).

The Coptic numerals employed in No. XL would seem to indicate some contact with the Coptic-Arabic fiscal system.

The collection as a whole is written in Hebrew characters. There is nothing remarkable in the use of the Hebrew alphabet by the Jews when writing Arabic. They have done similarly in Persia, Spain, the Slavic countries, and America. So also the Greeks and Armenians use their national alphabets for writing Turkish. For a time the Jacobite Christians of the Lebanon wrote Arabic in Syriac characters, the so-called Karshūnī. Just as the use of the Arabic script quite generally follows the adoption of Islam, so the use of the Latin or the Greek alphabet shows historical and cultural relationship to the Latin church or the Greek church respectively. It is perhaps not that the letters are more sacred than the language; but that the letters can still be taught after it becomes impossible to continue the tradition of the language.

The variety and difficulty of the hands present at once the chief problem of the editors; although Hebrew writing, in the very nature of the case, is not usually so difficult as the freely ligatured Arabic. One group in particular, Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV, is written in a very bad Hebrew hand in which similar letters are scarcely differentiated at all. Even for a Jew of that time and place these letters could not have been more legible than the proverbial scrawls of Horace Greeley are to us. As modern analogies to these memoranda-slips and leaves from note-books, we are to think of the slips which are issued to us by our grocers, or the personal memoranda and agenda which we carry about in our pockets.

It has been difficult to find a satisfactory standard for the classification of hands¹². The traditional terms, "square," "half-square," and "cursive," have no definitive and generally accepted meaning. "Square" is used to designate the group of hands most nearly like the standard type of our Hebrew bibles. "Half-square" means usually the group resembling the "rabbinic" or "Rashi" type of the printers; "cursive" means perhaps a running hand with ligatures. But "square" hands become careless, and begin to look like "rabbinic"; while truly "cursive" hands can hardly be found at all. In this collection, in spite of the carelessness of many of the hands, there is only one (XXI) really "cursive" hand, in the sense of being freely ligatured.

Under these circumstances it has been thought best to invent a system, if only for the purposes of this volume; and to give the three traditional terms a definite meaning. As the letter נ is the most variable in the alphabet, and as its variation stands in a certain relation to the classes, "square," "half-square," and "cursive," we need only to define these classes in terms of the form of נ. In very few cases is the result belied by the general impression of the writing.

¹² Bernheimer, *Paleografia Ebraica*, Florence, 1924, has come to hand too late for consideration.

The square type is made with five strokes : **Ⲛ**.

The half-square type is made with three strokes, and still resembles the square : **Ⲛ Ⲛⲓ**.

The cursive type is made with three or even two strokes, and does not much resemble the square : **Ⲛ Ⲛⲓ Ⲛⲓ**.

Nineteen of the documents may be dated, exactly or approximately. If these be arranged in chronological order no definite development is apparent. E.g. No. XLVII, of A.D. 1067, has the same cursive form as No. XLI, which is certainly later than 1412. On the other hand, it appears that while cursive hands are commonest in letters and memoranda, square and half-square hands are employed in legal documents (XI, XLIII) and in other formal (XXXI, XXXII, XL) writing, and by persons writing letters from Jerusalem (V, XXVII).

v. THE DATING

Unfortunately only nineteen of the fifty fragments can by any means be dated. Of these the earliest appears to be No. V (c. 1016?) or No. XLIII (1043), and the latest No. L (c. 1530?) or No. XL (1511). The undated ones may, of course, fall outside these limits. General considerations make it likely that nearly all of the collection belongs to the early or middle part of this period; and it is disappointing not to find some reference to the Crusades or the Mongol invasions.

vi. THE LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGES

The interpretation of many of the letters is made peculiarly difficult by a certain characteristic vagueness, incoherence, and obscurity of language (18). The editors are well aware of their failure in many instances to grasp the meaning of the texts (139 ff.). Some of the trouble arises from pure slovenliness of thought and expression. Confusion between two possible forms or constructions, which present themselves simultaneously to the mind of the writer, are very common (36, 46, 119-126, 138, 152, 153, 158). To the obscurities of very bad Arabic (151) and Arabic under some strong foreign influence (XXXIII) are added the inelegancies of speech-mixture. Hebrew and Arabic are often frankly combined in a single document, even of some pretensions (XLIII). But Arabic and Hebrew are combined in the same words (XV); Arabic words are used in a Hebrew sense, and Hebrew words in an Arabic sense (39, 162); and the Arabic and Hebrew articles are even combined (104).

One cannot escape the impression, however, that there is a considerable element of deliberate *geheimthuerei*; "My letter has gone forward to you with the 'dogs,' who will tell you about it" (19). "And the 'Elephant'—God keep him!—did not wish to give colors" (95). "The writer of it is the slave, your insignificant servant, Genesis-Exodus" (133). Some of this is due to fear of the interception of letters, no doubt: "And it is not possible for me to explain to you..." (151). Much of it arises from the trade-slang of a forgotten age: No. XXXVI is an excellent example of this. Some of

it may be humor: "Bought a slave" means "became the father of a son" (51). "The bed is the most important thing in the house" (21). "I needed first of all a tailor" (151).

The elaborate ceremonial of address in the letters, whether in Hebrew or in Arabic, suggests some relationship with the highly developed epistolary technique of the Arabs, as set forth in such books as the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* of al-Ḳalkāshandī (died A.D. 1418)¹³.

The languages used are Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic.

Except in the few cases where the language is bad, we may assume that Arabic was the mother tongue of the writers of all these documents. It is used for most of the personal letters, notes, and memoranda; and documents in Hebrew have a tendency to lapse into it. Hebrew is the language of formal letters, or letters written by proficient persons with a motive for emphasising the bond that united the Jews. Hebrew is the language of the poetic pieces, all more or less religious, and Aramaic the language of documents (XI); but words from both languages are often introduced into Arabic texts, especially where Jewish institutions are concerned.

It is perhaps unnecessary, except for completeness, to remark here that Hebrew was properly the language of Canaan (Isaiah xix, 18). Themselves a part of the Aramaean migration, and in contact with Aramaic (Gen. xxxi, 47; II Sam. x, 6; Jud. xviii, 28), the Jews must have become more familiar with Aramaic after the deportations of Israelites and importation of Aramaeans in 734 and 722 B.C. (II Kings xv, 29; xvii, 6, 24; Ezra iv, 2, 10). Aramaic was understood by Judaeans of the upper classes as early as 701 B.C. (II Kings xviii, 26; Isaiah xxxvi, 11). During the fifty years of exile in an Aramaic-speaking Babylon the Jews must have learned that language thoroughly, as the steady process of aramaisation in post-exilic Hebrew testifies. The writer of Ezra (end of fourth century B.C.) and the writer of Daniel (about 167 B.C.) not only include Aramaic documents and reports, but themselves use Aramaic within the body of a Hebrew book, intended for Jewish readers. With the beginning of Hellenistic times Hebrew seems to have perished as a spoken language. It was replaced by Aramaic and Greek. After the decline of Greek in the fourth century, Aramaic, in various forms, continued to be the language of Jews in the orient until the Muslim conquests, in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. Medieval and modern Hebrew have so strong an infusion of Aramaic at times, that they may be said to consist of a mixture of the two. This did not occur with Arabic, probably because of the greater difference between Arabic and Hebrew; although Arabic became the chief language of the Jews in the East.

¹³ Cf. a similar work in *Zeitschr. der deutschen morg. Gesell.*, vol. lxx, pp. 7 ff. British Museum 182, Hebrew A3, gives suggestions for writing to a superior for assistance.

vii. ARABIC

At times the Arabic used approximates to the classical idiom. The suffix *-kumū* occurs in a *rajaz*-verse (133); and there are instances of the *i'rāb* and the *tanwīn* (41). But for the most part the Arabic is colloquial in some degree. The type is usually Egyptian; but it is often Palestinian or Syrian, or even Maghribī (VII). This colloquialism varies from a slight coloring or an occasional slip, to an out-and-out use of the vernacular (IX, XII, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLV). In the two letters (or two parts of one letter?) written by a slave (or servant?) to his master (XXVIII, XXX) we have perhaps the oldest existing specimens of colloquial, howbeit Jewish Arabic. The writer spells both his Arabic and his Hebrew words phonetically. No. XXVI is most peculiar, if indeed we have read it properly.

Orthography and phonology must be treated together, as we cannot always know whether we are dealing with peculiarities of spelling or peculiarities of pronunciation. Some of the texts are more phonetic than others, writing the consonants and long vowels apparently as heard and spoken (130), and even occasionally indicating the short vowels (63, 139).

The Hebrew letters employed in expressing the Arabic sounds are those which etymologically correspond to the Arabic letters; but some cases require special comment:

ת and ث	= ט
ט	= ט
ד and ذ	= ד
ض	= ז
س	= ס, rarely ש or צ (3) under influence of ט (15)
ص	= צ, rarely ש (51)
ز	= ר, rarely צ (138)
ظ	= ז
ج	= ג, indicating a non-Cairene pronunciation
ح	= ח, rarely ה, as in Europe (122, 138)
ع	= ע
ق	= ק, rarely ח (152), or omitted, because = hamzah (154)
ك	= כ, rarely ה (50, 140), or פ under influence of ת (63)
ع	= פ, rarely omitted, in numerals (138)
ه	= ה, rarely omitted, in <i>fā[hi]</i> (112)
ي	= י, <i>passim</i> . Short <i>i</i> also? (138, 230)
ا	= א
و	= ו, rarely ה (12 ff., 159)

In the way of forms and syntactic peculiarities not necessarily colloquial:

אבִי for ابو (114, 152)
 אבִיךָ for اخوك (150, 152)
 מתופיה for مَتَوَفَاة (38)

Also the frequent omission of the article, the strange use of prepositions, and the redundant "it" (XXVII especially).

Peculiarities of vocabulary not necessarily colloquial :

- يَوْمٌ, "he intends" (24)
 إِبْرَاءٌ, "acquittal" (35)
 أَمْرٌ, "business" (162)
 بَيْنٌ, "by agreement" (43)
 ثَقُلَ, "forced" (34)
 ثَمَنٌ, "value" (164)
 لَا تَزَلْ, for لَا تُجَظَّ (?), "do not be concerned"
 (154)
 جُمْلَةٌ, "shipment" (97)
 حَدِيثٌ, "business" (37)
 " , "matter" (63)
 يُحَرِّصُ, "he should urge" (39)
 مُحَاكِمَةٌ, "judiciable claim" ? (43)
 مَخْدُومٌ, "master" (138, 140)
 خُضْرَةٌ, "mouldiness" (122)
 خَاطَرٌ, "risked" (152)
 يُخْلِفُ, "may he recompense" (154)
 أَذْخِلْ لَهُ تَحْتَهُ, "I pay to him, to remain under his
 management" ? (32 ff.)
 يُدِيرُهُمْ, "he liquidated them" ? (39)
 ادَّعَى, for ادَّعَى, "he asserted" ? (34 f.)
 دَفَعُهَا, for دَفَعُهَا, "their delivery" ? (97)
 دَرَجٌ, "moment" (162)
 دَفَعَتْ, "she summoned to court" ? (55)
 ذَكَرَ, "he said" (34 ff. *et passim*)
 رَاسِي, "myself" (140)
 رَقَامٌ, "embroidery" (152)
 رُسْبِسْتَانٌ, "prunes" (123)
 شَرَسَ, for شَرَسَ, "quarrel" ? (132)
 سَرَسُورٌ, "manager" (193)
 مَتَسَقِرٌ, "despatcher" (228)
 أَسْقَى, "he treated" ? (112)
 أَسْلَقْتُ, "I borrowed" (140)
 اسْتَمَعْنَا, "we inquired" (45)
 سَعَرَ, "purchase-price" ? (164)

- أَسَنَهُ, "payable next year"? (141)
 مُشِدِّ, "inspector," "overseer" (141)
 شَغْلُ الْقَلْبِ, "worry" (36 *et alibi*)
 شِقَاق, "chaff"? (118)
 شَاكِرِيَّة, "favor"? "wages"? (63)
 شُرْطَة, "police" (69, 95)
 ضَعَف, "was not able" (112, 121)
 طَلَب, "wished," "tried" (121)
 عَلَى, "for"? (20 *et alibi*)
 غَاسُول, "soap" (123)
 غَلَاء, "profiteering"? (125)
 الْفُور, "Purim" (46)
 قَبُول, "before" (120)
 لِأَنَّ, "because"? (21)
 الْمُسْتَقِرِّ, "the inquirer"? (62, 150 *et alibi*)
 أَقْرُو, "I being impatient for"? (126)
 قَصَص, "doings" (127)
 كِرَاء, "cost"? "load"? (57, 73)
 كَسْبَة, "estate"? (49)
 كَنِيسِيَّة, "church" (19, 120, 156)
 تَلْثِيْمَة, "reconciliation" (42)
 مَاحَر, "dowry"? (57)
 مَعَ, "about"? (119)
 مَعَانِي, "affairs"? (20)
 الْمَمْلُوك, "your obedient servant"? "slave"?
 (24, 133)
 نَاخُوذَة, "ship's captain" (48)
 أَنْفَذْتَ, "you sent" (50)
 أَنْفَذَ, "it had paid" (150)
 وَجْه, "important thing"? (20)
 يَتَّجِه, "it might be due"? (9)
 وَلَد, "son" (39)
 وَلَف, "he collected" (119)

Of especial interest are the instances of colloquial phonology (Egyptian, unless otherwise stated):

Loss of ' in numerals (114, 138, 163 *et alibi*).

Loss of final *-hi* (112).

New ' arising out of *ḥ* (154 *bis*), or triliterality (199).

Change of ' to *ḥ* before the voiceless stop *t* (63).

Change of *s* to *š* before the emphatic stop *ṭ* (15).

Loss of final short vowel of verbal forms, resulting in shortening of preceding vowel (34), or (when the root ends with *l*) assimilation to the *l* of the preposition (46, 138, 140, 156).

Accent on first syllable in broken plurals of the form *fa'alīl*, with consequent shortening of second syllable, so as to produce the form *fā'alīl* (160 *et passim*).

Maghribī accent on last syllable with consequent loss of initial vowel in *ibn* and *abū* (32, 41, 69).

Colloquial forms are frequent :

wilād for *awlād* (40).

Characteristic forms of numerals (138).

Maghribī hūmā for *hum* (140).

lē and *ilō* for *lahu* (Palestinian and Syrian, 33).

hādī for *hādha* (Palestinian and Syrian, 152).

dī for *hādha* (162).

ēsh for *mā* (Palestinian and Syrian, 21, 39, 52, 124, 152).

hēk for *hākadhā* (Palestinian and Syrian, 152).

The negative suffix *-sh[e]* (54, 65, 121, 140, 150, 151), at times still objective and not yet adverbial (150, 151).

The present-tense-prefix *bi-* with the imperfect (39, 112, 152).

The *Maghribī* first-person-singular (sic!) prefix with the imperfect, *n*, if it be not a mere use of "we" for "I." (Spanish-Moroccan? 152 *et alibi*.)

The external *t* in the VIIIth form of the verb (51, 52, 53, 160).

Metathesis of first vowel in verbs whose third radical is *y*, e.g. *ihkēt* for *hakaitu* (Palestinian, 140).

Inflection of verbs whose third radical is ' (47) and verbs whose second and third radicals are identical (155), as though they were verbs whose third radical is *y*.

Simplification of *yutma'inn* to *yutāmmīn* (47).

The pseudo-verb *fī[l]* (151).

The conjunctions *walla* (125) and *ila wa* (56).

The adverb *lissa* (65).

Syntactic peculiarities of the colloquial :

The relative pronoun *alladhī* is at times used as a conjunction in the manner in which its colloquial counterpart, *illī*, is used in Cairene vernacular at the present day. This is precisely the history of the Germanic demonstrative (English *that*) which becomes relative and then conjunctive : " *That* book *that* denies *that* such is the case " (45, 130).

The Hebrew letters נ occur many times in such a way as to appear to be the Arabic conjunction *an*, used as an indefinite relative pronoun (45, 51, 54, 96, 130). As everyone knows, Arabic has no indefinite relative pronoun. This *an* would seem therefore to be used in the manner of Hebrew נ. At times it stands between an undetermined noun and its attributive adjective (45, 54, 96).

The conjunction *an* is omitted (121).

The participle is used for a finite verb (? 51).

Vocabulary and idioms which are like modern colloquial :

<i>baṭṭāl</i> ,	"worthless," "bad" (34)
<i>baḡa</i> ,	"he became" ? (44, 63)
<i>jāb</i> ,	"he brought" (38)
<i>yejīb</i> ,	"that he bring" (121)
<i>jābu</i> ,	"they would bring [a price]" (39)
<i>jawāb</i> ,	"letter" (62)
<i>ḥājah</i> ,	"thing" (19, 63, 120, 160), plural, <i>ḥawā'ij</i> (154, 187)
חרות,	"story" (47)
<i>dā</i> ,	"he gave" (56)
<i>rāh</i> ,	"he went" (46)
<i>ruḥt fī ḥālī</i> ,	"I went about my business" (140)
<i>aṣṭar</i> ,	"cleverer" (160)
שיתאן,	"rascal" (113)
<i>ā'iz</i> ,	"desirous" (46)
<i>ḡabadū</i> ,	"they have received" (120)
<i>tī[k]rā</i> 'annī..... <i>as-salām</i> ,	"give my greetings to....." (154)
<i>bi naṣṣrak</i> ,	"with your favor" (141)
<i>nuṣṣ</i> ,	"half" (122)

viii. HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

The few Hebrew words which are spelled phonetically after the Arabic fashion (130) indicate the Sephardic value of the vowel τ : \bar{a} (130). In No. XV, however, we have גורל uniformly for גִּדּוּל, and עֲלִיךְ for עֲלִיךְ, and פִּעֻמִּים for פִּעֻמִּים (77, 79), indicating that τ was pronounced \bar{o} , and that the accent rested upon the penult. Both of these peculiarities are foreign to the present pronunciation of Hebrew by Jews of Sephardic origin in Arabic-speaking lands, and characteristic of the pronunciation of Jews of Ashkenazic, Yememite, Persian, and Caucasian origin. There is no reason for suspecting Ashkenazic influence more than the others.

Arabic ابو frequently becomes אבי (142) on the analogy of ancient names, such as Abimelech (142).

Very few unusual meanings appear. דִּיּוֹקְנִי, which generally means "picture," must mean "copy" (29). הַגֵּרִי, "Hagarene," a biblical word, referring to a certain Arab tribe, stands for "Arabic" in general (27), instead of עֲרַבִּים. שֵׁר is a technical term for the chief figure which appears in the vision seen by a crystal-gazer (76). The poet, in quest of rimes, invents new words (173, 175).

ix. CONTENTS

Of theological material there is only an unimportant fragment of Maimonides (XXXIX), an equally poor one of Simeon Ḳayyāra (VI), and an extremely problematic jumble of halachic notes of very doubtful origin and purpose (XLIV).

Poetry (*pizmōnīm*) is represented by a panegyric of Abraham Maimūnī (XXIX), religious poems or hymns (*pizmōnīm*) and fragments (XVII, XIX, XX), including a biblical paraphrase (XXXVIII).

The liturgy is found in two specimens (X, XLVI), and liturgical notes in three (XXIII, XXV, XLII). None of these, except possibly XLVI, is of any interest. Nos. XXIII, XXV, and XLII are not only extremely difficult to translate and explain, but very difficult to account for.

There are two interesting magical texts or amulets (XV, XXIV), the former to be used in connection with some "scrying" or crystal-gazing ceremony.

Four of the items are documents in the precise legal sense: the extremely important formal agreement about the order of precedence in the Academy at al-Ramlah (XLIII), an interesting bill of divorce (XI), two documents recording the settlement of an indebtedness incurred in a partnership undertaking (I), and an all but completely unintelligible receipt in Arabic script (XVI). No. VII is the memorandum of an indignation meeting held by a defrauded investor, and hardly a legal document. The same may be said of the list of tax-payers (XIII), leaves from merchants' note-books (XIV, XVIII), and an accounting of expenses incurred by a business expedition (XXXVI). Two records of marriage-settlements, with long lists of articles belonging to the bride (XL, XLV), and a record of the sale of a slave (XLV), are probably informal documents.

Of the fifty numbers in the collection twenty-four contain letters. Nos. XXX and XXVIII probably are parts of the same letter, and XXXI and XXXII are certainly such; while No. L contains three distinct communications. We thus have twenty-four letters also. Not only do the letters constitute nearly half of the collection, but they are by far the most interesting part of it. In the picture which they give of Jewish life in Egypt from about A.D. 1000 to 1500, there is much that is characteristic of Jewish life and of life everywhere.

Letters were carried by travellers (47) or runners (XLVII) over vast distances, and arrived infrequently (47). Anxious relatives at home beg the young man to write oftener, and he replies that he is too busy (51). Every sort of letter is represented. There is the family-letter, mostly about personal trials and troubles (III, IX, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX); the begging letter of an aunt (XLIX); the appeal of a worthy man to the munificent al-Tustarī (XXXI-XXXII); the wheedling, half-threatening, plea for assistance in behalf of another (XLVIII); on the loss of a friend (XXI); the trivial polite letter (XXVI); to a departed guest (XXXIV); upon fleeing to Alexandria (XXXVII); on general business matters (XXII); to a business associate (XII, XXXIII); complaining to a business partner of

his timidity (XXXV); from a wily old man in Jerusalem who knows better than to speculate in sugar (XLI); from a half heat-stricken man held up at a lonely caravan-station in Sinai (XLVII); about the adjustment of a debt (IV); about a real-estate controversy (VIII); about a case of divorce (V); complaint of political intrigue against the writer (II); exposure of a corrupt and tyrannical judge (L). From these letters, supplemented by the other material in the collection, we derive the data underlying the following sections.

x. GEOGRAPHY

The geographical range of the documents is from Aleppo and Turkey in the north to Aden in the south, and from Spain and France in the west to Colombo and India in the east.

Most important is Egypt, the home of prosperous Jewry. A number of Egyptian places are mentioned. At al-Fustāṭ (Old Cairo) was the congregation and Synagogue of Elijah, in whose archives were kept important letters received, and copies of important letters sent. Perhaps the Canal mentioned in No. IX is the ancient water-way which gave its name to the street al-Khalig in modern Cairo (54). Alexandria is spoken of, and appears in several personal and family names.

Palestine, and particularly Jerusalem, are objects of concern. There is an allusion to the Jewish Quarter, to the Rubā'iyah (Müristān?) and the Church (of the Holy Sepulchre?). There has been an earthquake, or similar catastrophe, and the "Glorious Place" has collapsed, and must be rebuilt (31). In the Holy City the chief necessities of life, then as now, were fuel-wood and olive oil, for heat and light (121), except when there was actual want of food (125). No. XXVII gives the familiar picture of Jewish misery in Jerusalem. Other places in Palestine and Syria are mentioned: Hebron? (118), al-Ramlah (201), Safed, Kafr Yāsif, 'Ain al-Zaitūn (L), Tyre (127), Aleppo (103, XLVII). All the stations on the caravan route between Cairo and Damascus are mentioned in No. XXX. Caravans from Aleppo and Damascus stop at Kaṭyah in Sinai (XLVII).

There seems to have been a group of Cairene Jews, settled at Aden, South Arabia, and engaged in the trade with India and Ceylon. They even occasionally went to Colombo (IX).

Spanish Jews are often alluded to (179, L), and Spanish ships (123) are once mentioned; also people of Sicily (75) and commerce with that country (123); perhaps even France (99). The writers of XXI and XXVII were probably of Moroccan origin, as were doubtless others (153).

xi. BIOGRAPHY

A great many personal names appear; but most of them are not to be identified, and many of them are as indefinite as "Abraham Cohen" would be in modern New York, or "Muḥammad" in Cairo.

The following are a few of the names which seem to be more or less certainly placed. The references in each case are to Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fātimids*, vol. i (1920); vol. ii (1922).

1. Abraham Maimūnī (135), son of the great Maimonides, born 1186, died 1237.

2. Abraham, son of Shema'yāh the Ḥābēr, descendant of Shema'yāh Gā'ōn (7), signatory of many documents, alive in 1088 (Mann, ii, 232).

3. Abū al-Faraj (25), perhaps the same as Abū al-Faraj, son of Abū Zakarī, a judge at al-Fuṣṭāṭ, alive in 1301. Both father and son bore the title "ra'īs" (Mann, i, 246).

4. Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, son of Manasseh (11), signatory of documents in conjunction with No. 2, and therefore contemporary (Mann, ii, 232).

5. The Ḥazzān Bayyān (53)—a strange form and word-order—perhaps the same as Abū 'l-Bayyān the Ḥazzān, about 1050 (Mann, i, 242; ii, 308).

6. Immanuel, son of Yehī'el (61), perhaps a descendant of the Yehī'el who lived in the twelfth(?) century (Mann, ii, 303 ff.).

7. Jacob, son of Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh (26), perhaps the same as the head of the Jewish court who signed documents at al-Fuṣṭāṭ in 1016 and 1018, and at Aleppo in 1028 (Mann, i, 37, 150).

8. Judah ha-Kōhēn, son of Eleazar (13), was dayyān at Bilbais from 1187 onward (Mann, ii, 317).

9. Mebōrākh, son of Nathan (11), a known signatory of twelfth-century documents (Mann, i, 222, 227; ii, 293).

10. Nahrai, son of Nissīm (129), perhaps the same as the famous scholar by that name who died between 1050 and 1098 (Mann, i, 204 ff.; ii, 240 ff.). But the prefixed "Abū Yaḥyā" would refer to a supposedly well-known son, of which there is no record.

11. Nathan, son of Abraham (199), usurper of power in the Palestinian Academy (XLIII), becoming "Father of the Law Court," or "Second," in place of the rightful aspirant, Tobiah, son of Daniel (Mann, i, 141-152; also pp. 71, 75, 115, 129, 130, 193, 273).

12. Nathan, son of Samuel (35), perhaps the same as the secretary to the nāgīd about 1140 (Mann, i, 225).

13. Shabbatai, son of Abraham the Dayyān the Ḥābēr (17), signed documents in 1154 (Mann, ii, 259).

14. Solomon, son of Judah (199), the Gā'ōn, or "First," in the Palestinian Academy. See No. 11.

15. Tobiah, son of Daniel (199), the "Third" who should have been "Second" in the Palestinian Academy. See No. 11.

16. al-Tustarī, Abū Sa'd, Abraham, son of Abū al-Faḍl, Sahl (143), the wealthy dealer in rarities who through the mother of the Sultan Ma'add, a slave-girl from his market, exercised great influence at court until his assassination in 1048 (Mann, i, 76, 79, 122; Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* [1901], pp. 137, 149).

17. 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, son of Joseph (3), probably the "Parnās of Babylon," about 1116 (Mann, i, 196).

18. Yepheth, son of David (7), perhaps the same as Yepheth the Ḥazzān, son of David, son of Shekhanya (Mann, ii, 97, 246). But he signed documents in 1020, ninety-six years before our own.

19. Abraham Castro (237, 241), may be the one mentioned by Sambari and Solomon Hazzān. If so, he was alive in A.D. 1606.

20. Joseph Sarakossī (Saragossī, L), organised the Safed community in A.D. 1492. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v.

21. Moses di Trani (? L), Dayyān of Safed, 1525-35. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v.

xii. JEW AND GENTILE

The student of the Law who refuses to invest in sugar (193) speaks casually of a neighbor as "the uncircumcised one—May his name and memory be blotted out!" (191). The melancholic Abū Zubair, writing from Jerusalem, complains that a certain other Jew is found at the houses of Muslims, and does not understand the difference between "inside and outside" (127). A Jew excuses himself for resorting to gentiles (19). A proselyte is perhaps mentioned in a list of Jewish tax-payers (69). Two Muslim formulae: "Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds" (161), and "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (163), occur in one letter. Arabic script is occasionally used, and in one instance Coptic numerals (XL).

Considering the complaining tone of many of the letters, we hear surprisingly little about persecution. There is difficulty between Jewish landlord and gentile tenant (21), or between Muslim landlord and Jewish tenant (121), of the kind usual in the Near East, and not necessarily influenced by religious or racial feelings. In Nos. XXXI and XXXII Tobiah asks al-Tustarī for a letter: "For I fear that evil may overtake me on the way, even as it overtook me at Hānēs. Had it not been for the mercies of the Almighty and the favor of my Lord, the honored Elder, I should be today in prison. In those days I had money in my hand, and I gave a bribe" (147 f.). There seems to be a veiled allusion to persecution in XXII: "I inform you" by this letter "of the condition of Būšir and its pain and travail; and that it is a city of great trouble and travail" (97). No. XXXVII seems to tell of persecution or similar disorders: The writer's son-in-law (or father-in-law?) has rented a "tower" at a place called Sīkat (?), or near Alexandria; and the whole family intends to live together in it. At his present place of residence "there are people rejoicing, and many people dead—yet there is no trustworthy information." He would "like to go away from here." "Perhaps God will have mercy, and His anger will depart from His people Israel—even though there are some who say that the towers are untrustworthy" (171). A synagogue is destroyed by Muslims (233).

Piracy, the capture of Jewish merchants and other travellers, and the necessity of ransoming them, laid a heavy burden both upon those who ventured abroad and upon those who stayed at home (50, note; 51). The pirates were Muslims (51). Such captures were made purely in view of ransom. "The captive, Esther" (183) is ransomed by the man who is to marry her, for fifty dīnārs (183), a rather large sum. There were, of course,

the usual slaves (159, 223 f.). It was probably the ability of the Jews to pay, and their faithfulness in ransoming their brethren, that made them the particular victims of this practice. Labor requisitions (231) need not have been made upon Jews especially.

The Jews paid a poll-tax (23). Number XIII is a list of the names of tax-payers with amounts (67 ff.). It is not clear why the Sultan took a third of a certain estate (41). Jews adjusted their differences successfully before Jewish courts (3 ff., 43). In one case two dishonest men defraud a business partner successfully by resorting to a Muslim court (35).

xiii. MARRIAGE

Women owned and inherited property (39, 47, 55). A girl might marry when only twelve years old (187). The economic side of the agreement was arranged by a marriage-broker, who made note of the facts (XL, XLV). The betrothal, with its "advanced payment" (*muḳdām*), and the marriage proper, with its "delayed payment" (*me'uhār*), were probably celebrated in quick succession (XL, XLV). In the interim the lady was sometimes supported by the fiancé (187). The bride brought a dowry (*nedunyāh*). This consisted of a great variety of goods. In both Nos. XL and XLV we find remarkable lists of articles of clothing and personal adornment, jewelry, cosmetics, and sweetmeats (187), which will well repay study. Some of the names belong evidently to the fanciful nomenclature of the day. What indeed is a "trembler" (181), or a "dancer" (179)? Others, though strange, are intelligible and interesting, such as the color, "gazelles' blood," and the many articles from Hormuz (181, 185). Property arrangements are also frequently stated, particularly that the husband shall possess the wife's handiwork, but must provide her with clothing (179, 183, 187), and the inheritance rights of the children are protected (183).

The last mentioned arrangements are made not merely in view of death, but also of divorce (183); and this was apparently not difficult. In No. XI we have a bill of divorce in which no grounds are stated, while great pains are taken with phraseology, attestation, and delivery of the document. In No. V the grounds are that the wife has refused to follow her husband to another city, to which he has transferred his domicile. That there may sometimes have been extreme grounds for divorce appears from the mention of two cases of adultery (53, 55), where the husbands were away from home for long periods. The unfortunate, illegitimate offspring was refused the customary blessings at circumcision (55). Neither ḥazzān nor dayyān would attend, and certain less sensitive Byzantine Jews managed to collect the necessary quorum (55). Great fondness for children is revealed in the letter to a departed guest (157), where we have perhaps one word of infantile Hebrew.

xiv. RELIGION, LEARNING, SUPERSTITION

Religion and learning are not fairly represented in the present small collection of Genizah documents. For evidence of these one must refer, e.g., to the description of still uninvestigated materials enumerated by

Bacher in the *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (s.v. *Genizah*). Our collection consists of humbler remains of the past, overlooked or rejected by seekers after literary texts. Nevertheless, we have a few pizmōnim, liturgical fragments and notes, halachic bits, and a portion of Maimonides besides occasional references to books and an interest in study, pamphlets on Hebrew grammar and theological controversy (123 ff.). Books were hard to get, and loaned books hard to recover (125). A borrowed copy of the Prophets cannot be returned, because the boys are reading it (153)! Only one really unworthy exponent of religion appears (L), although the ethics of a certain transaction in grain are at least doubtful (123). There are some maxims of merit (127, 175).

It is quite natural that we should find some evidence of the pursuit of magic and pseudo-science. No. XXIV is a charm or amulet, such as those elsewhere alluded to (23, 125). No. XV, while it may be a charm, is certainly the recipe for a "scrying" ceremony, with the well-known reference to "princes" which are wont to appear in the vision (76). Elsewhere there is reference to a "magic circle" (107). Cabbalistic names are used (107), including the Tetragrammaton (77f.), the שם המפורש (81), and Miṭaṭrōn, the angel (77). The purpose of magic may be protection from disease and accident (107), or the cure of disease and decay (23), or the discovery of hidden treasure (79 ff.). The Song of Songs will cure "dry patches" or a drying up of the body, or boils (23). Psalm cxxi, 5-8, and Exodus xiv, 19 also have magic potency (107). People live in fear of magic, diseases, ghosts, and all sorts of catastrophe (107). The Latin word *succuba* perhaps occurs (107), instead of the Hebrew Lilith, for the vampire-demoness. If the boy's name, 'Allān, means "stupid," it is applied to avert the evil eye from a particular shining mark (9, 11, 19). A vindictive statement about one who is dead is hastily retracted: "But woe unto us! For we are not unmindful of our own condition!" (127).

xv. COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURE

The Jews of al-Fustāṭ and their correspondents dealt in many wares, both staple and fancy: tartar and resin (25), saffron and coral (75), pepper (87), flax, linen, and indigo (99), wool and woollen goods (121), wheat, prunes, gum-arabic, almonds, soap, and earthen pots (123, 231), alum, candied roses (?), and spikenard (153), sugar (191), swords (193), and other commodities. They advanced money for the purchase of material and the maintenance of workmen, taking and selling the finished product. They were in fact manufacturers of colored silks (73), cloth (161), and yarn (153).

The Jews also entered into partnerships (7), a thing which Moslems in Egypt even nowadays seldom dare to do. These, to be sure, were not always successful, because of the indifference (63), or timidity (161), or dishonesty (33, 191) of the partners. The risks of commerce were great. Then as now, goods were perishable and prices fluctuated (191). But clients in those days were exposed to unusual dangers and uncertainties. Tips, taxes, fees, bribes, presents, obligations, contributions, and gratuities,

to agents, porters, sailors, ferrymen, gate-keepers, camel-drivers, inspectors, revenue-officers and what not (XXXVI), by which the Jews avoided molestation, must have taken much of the profit and all of the pleasure out of commercial pursuits.

Of the coins mentioned, the *dīnār* gets its name from the Roman *dēnārius*, but it is a gold coin weighing between 66 and 68 $\frac{4}{7}$ grains. The American five-dollar gold-piece weighs 129 grains at 900 fine; so that a *dīnār* of the same fineness would lack only a few grains of being equal to half that coin, or \$2.50. Its purchasing power at the time, however, has been estimated at about \$7.50. The *ashrafī* (139 ff., 187) succeeded the *dīnār* in Egypt toward the end of the fourteenth century A.D. (187). It weighed 53.8 grains.

The *dirham* gets its name from the Greek δραχμή. The Arabs took over this word, in the form *darāhim*, as though a broken plural from an imaginary singular, *dirham*. It was equal to about $\frac{1}{15}$ of a *dīnār* or an *ashrafī*. A special *dirham nāsirī* is mentioned (111).

Other coins are, the *rubā'i*, or "quarter" of a *dīnār* (167); the *nusf faddah*, or "half a silver-piece" (139); the *mai'yadī* or *mu'ayyadī*, coined after A.D. 1412-1421 (192); and the *ḥabbah*, mentioned among other small coins (165). The Hebrew words פְּרָחִים (193) and פְּרָחִים (183, 232) are used perhaps to mean *dīnārs*. Moroccan money was used (169). *Mithkāl* and *kīrāt* (3, 33, 73) are names for weights primarily, but are used apparently in reference to coins or coined money. The former may mean *dīnār* (33, 73). The latter is $\frac{1}{24}$ of a *dīnār* (3, 69).

In the way of weights and measures we have the *kintār*, which now equals about 99 lbs. and $\frac{4}{5}$ oz. avoird., the *roṭl*, a little less than 1 lb. avoird., and the *wikīyah*, about 1.32 oz. avoird. The *kintār* contains 100 *roṭls*, and the *roṭl* contains 12 *wikīyahs*. *Kintār* is derived from Latin *centenarius*, "containing a hundred," a word which has passed into many languages in the sense of "a hundredweight," or "a hundred pounds." *Roṭl* seems to come from Greek λίτρα, related to Latin *libra*, "a pound," and *wikīyah* from Latin *uncia*, "an ounce," the twelfth part of a *libra*. The *ḥaṣabah* is a measure of length, at present equal to 11 ft. 7.766. The equivalents in the above have been taken from Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908. *Wazn* (121) seems to be a unit of weight, not "weight" in general. *Kafaṣ* (193) and *ḥafīz* (119) are evidently grain measures.

xvi. PROPER NAMES

The many interesting proper names which are to be found in these texts deserve more than the few observations which are here accorded them; but adequate treatment must await further investigation. No. XIII is especially important.

No doubt the Jews of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, like Jews in other lands, bore double names, one Hebrew and the other gentile. Fortunately, however, in the case of Egypt, many names were more or less the same in both languages. We have therefore not only Hebrew names and Arabic names, but such as

might be either if necessary. When a Hebrew name resembled an Arabic one in sense but not in sound, it was translated instead of being phonetically modified: e.g. *Nāthan* became *Hibah* (27, 69), while *Abhrāhām* became *Ibrāhīm* (22); just as *Kēphā* became *Petros* (John i, 43), while *Shā'ul* became *Paulus* (Acts xiii, 9).

The patronymics are most interesting, as they show that certain name-motifs, which are commonly supposed to be of recent European origin, are medieval and oriental. *Bin Asad* (32), "Löwensohn," *Ibn al-Bahwarī* (67), "Son of the Lion-like," *Sibā'* (67), "Lion," are all members of the large group of "lion-names," which may have started with Genesis xlix, 9, as a cryptogram for *Judah*. In Europe the German translation, *Löwe*, seems to have been associated with Hebrew לֵוִי and לֵב. The permutations, through translation and paranomasia, are very numerous. *Al-Dhahabī* (71) is "Goldmann"; *al-Fiḏḏī* (71) is "Silbermann"; *al-Sukkarī* (67) is "Zuckermann"; *al-Ṣafīr* (131), though it means "sapphire," stands doubtless for Aramaic שַׁפִּיר, "Shapiro"; *Me'ir* (179) is "Meier." Some names, however, have come back to the orient from Europe, such as *Māyō* (191).

xvii. PURPOSE AND PLAN OF PUBLICATION

For many years the content of Genizah material, particularly the Hebrew material, has been studied, while the form, especially of the Arabic material, has been neglected. This is easily explicable; for the chief interest undoubtedly lies, and should lie, in the life and times of the *Fuṣṭāṭ* community, rather than in their language; and the language of these documents, at least on the Arabic side, presents peculiar difficulties.

In attempting to interpret documents written in a vulgar or barbarous form of some well-known language, there is always the question, first of all, as to whether they should receive grammatical and lexicographical treatment. It used to be thought that such was unnecessary, or indeed impossible, because there was no grammar. Now-a-days no one will doubt that vulgar and barbarous texts have, after all, grammatical peculiarities; and that these can and must be studied for an understanding of the content of these texts. But the discharge of this duty is more difficult than its recognition; for vulgar dialects must be studied without prejudice, mostly in the light of their own evidence; and barbarous documents require at the same time constant watchfulness to detect the intrusion of "educated speech" in its varying degrees of corruption.

It is the purpose of the present volume to explain the texts, particularly those in Arabic, in such a way that anyone having a fair knowledge of the ordinary idiom may learn to read them; and to call attention to the peculiarities of language in such a way as to benefit those whose chief interest is philological. The translations have been made so that, by including the bracketed words, the reader will have a free rendering, and, by excluding them, a literal one. This is of course not entirely true everywhere. At the expense of beauty and brevity, and with some violence to

English at times, he will, however, usually be able to see what the editors understood the text to mean, and how they arrived at that understanding. The Arabic student will thus be assisted without seriously inconveniencing the general reader, who wishes to acquaint himself with the content of the documents. In a very few instances parentheses have been used to indicate words in the original which cannot stand in the translation. Bracketed restorations in the text of No. I are by Professor Gottheil; others have been explained in each case.

The treatment of proper names presents a problem. There are purely Hebrew names, or names written clearly as Hebrew; there are Arabic names; but there are also names which belong equally to the Hebrew and the Arabic languages, such as the interchangeable *Abhrāhām-Ibrāhīm*, and names which may be pronounced either as Hebrew or as Arabic, such as *Ṣedhākāh-Ṣadaḳah*. Doubtless the Jews of al-Fuṣṭāṭ used these pairs interchangeably. For this reason, and for the sake of simplicity, all familiar names have been given their ordinary English form, regardless of whether they are Hebrew or Arabic in a particular case: e.g. *Abraham, Isaac, Judah, Nathan, Samuel, Joseph*. Less familiar ones have been transliterated as Hebrew or as Arabic; and sometimes the assignment to the one or the other has been rather arbitrary.

The letters **בר** stand usually for **בר רבי**, and they have been so understood in most cases. Occasionally, however, they seem to be Aramaic **בַּר** (179), particularly when they do not have the dots of abbreviation over them. *Ibn, Bin, Ben, Bar, Bint, and Bath* have all been spelled with capitals, since often they must stand as the first part of a name. Sometimes they have been retained, and sometimes they have been translated. No fixed rule could be observed, as epithets and blessings attached to the end of a patronymic would in English seem to refer to the son, while in reality referring to the father. The innumerable abbreviations of formulae of blessing have sometimes been translated, sometimes paraphrased, and sometimes entirely omitted, as seemed best in each case.

The order of the fragments in this publication is that of the originals in the Freer Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington; not chronological, nor with reference to the contents. A chronological order would have been difficult, because so few of the fragments can be dated even approximately; and as to subject-matter, they admit of many arrangements. It is unfortunate that No. XXVIII is separated from XXX, and XXXI from XXXII. One might wish also that the more interesting ones could have been placed at the beginning of the volume, instead of some that are rather dull and obscure.

This work has been done under rather unusual difficulties. In spite of great effort, it doubtless contains many inconsistencies. Both subject-matter and language are such as to provoke controversy. The editors will be content if they have contributed anything to the understanding of Genizah documents.

INTRODUCTION TO FIRST FRAGMENT

Paper $12\frac{3}{8} \times 8$ inches.

Written in a fairly good Hebrew cursive, in Arabic with Hebrew intermingled.

The fragment is, in places, very much torn ; but with the exception of a few words, the text can be recovered entirely.

It contains two documents relating to one and the same affair. It seems that two parties were concerned in some business venture in al-Yemen—Abū al-ʿAlā Ṣāʿid ʿUlāh and Abū al-Afrāḥ ʿArūs al-Ajawānī. Difficulties seem to have arisen and ʿArūs owes ʿUlāh the sum of four dinārs and one carat. Upon the *recto* we have a document, fully attested, to the effect that ʿArūs owes this money to ʿUlāh. Upon the *verso* we have a second document to say that the money owed by ʿArūs has been paid, in the manner specified in the first document, into court ; and ʿUlāh releases ʿArūs from all further indebtedness in the matter.

Being official documents they are extraordinarily prolix ; but such verbosity and tautology are characteristic not only of these Judeo-Arabic court papers, but of such instruments at all times—even in the courts and law-offices of our own day. It has been no easy matter to translate this verbiage and to find the English terms corresponding to the Aramaic or Arabic expressions.

And, being official documents, they contain a great many Aramaic expressions and sentences. Jewish law goes back to Talmudic days, when the ordinary language of the people was Aramaic. As they passed into Arabic speaking lands, or as the Arabic cultural invasion engulfed them, their language of intercourse became Arabic ; but the formulae as laid down in the Talmudic law held their own against this invasion, in exactly the same manner as Latin did in European lands, and as French did when it replaced Latin as the culture-language of Europe.

The documents here published bear a striking resemblance in their whole form and tenor to the two published by the late Adalbert Merx of Heidelberg University in his *Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe* (Leiden, 1894). One of them, in fact, bears the date A.D. 1114, one year previous to one of our documents and two years previous to the second (A.D. 1115 and 1116). The names of the witnesses, being those of the members of the Court of Justice at Fustāṭ, are common in documents of this period. See Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimid Caliphs*, Oxford, 1920, Index.

I. TWO DOCUMENTS

A

Recto :

- 1 מעשה ש[ה]ה לפנינו אנו ב[י]ת דין [הק]בוע בפסמאט מצרים ומאן דחתים
עימנא לתחתא כן הוה
- 2 חצר אלינא אל[ש]יך אבו אלפראח כגך מר ור [ע]רוס הזקן הנכב[ד]
אלא[רגואני בר מר ור יוסף הזקן]
- 3 [הנכב]ד אל מהר[ו]י נע וקאל לנא אשהדו על[י] ואק[נו] מני מעכשו ואכתבו
ואכתמו עלי בגמיע אל אל[פאט]
- 4 אלמחרמה ואלמע[א]ני אלמוכרה ובכל לישאני דוכואתא וסלמו דלך אלי
אלשיך אבו אלעלא צאעד
- 5 אלד[משקי] מר ור [עולא הזקן הנכבד הלוי הנאמן נאמן בית דין
ורצוי הישיבה בר מר ור יוסף הזקן]
- 6 [הנכבד ליכון ביד]ה לליום ובעדה חגה וותאק אנני מקר ענדכם באוכד
מעאני אללקאראת
- 7 וא[ותקרא פי צחה מ]ני וגואז אמר מאיעא מן גיר קהר ולא גבר ולא אכראה
ולא סהו ולא גל[ט] ולא
- 8 עלה ב[י]ת ולא מרין] ולא גיר דלך מן [ג]מיע מפסדאת אלשהאדה אן לה
ענדי ופי קבלי ופי דמ[תי]
- 9 ובאלין די[נאר]ין וקיראט ואחד דהבא עינא מתאקילא ואונה
מצריה גיארא צחאחא
- 10 דינא ואנבא ו[חקא] לאזמא חוב גמור ומלוה זקופה אקום לה בדלך בעד
אלפסח פי סלד

A

¹ Reading מעשה, though the text is not quite plain. Sometimes simply the word מה is used. Cf. Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter 13 (J1. No. 7). מה שהיה בפנינו.

² Followed by one of the expressions usually accompanying the names of prominent individuals: כבוד גדולת סרושת. Cf. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 383.

³ I.e. מרנא ורבנא.

⁴ I.e. "purple."

⁵ Followed by נע = עדן = נוחו עדן.

⁶ والمعاني المؤكدة.

⁷ The Aramaic expression very often occurs in the simpler form לי זכות.

[illegible]

I. TWO DOCUMENTS

A

Recto:

- 1 The following¹ occurred before us the Bēth Dīn [Court of Justice] properly appointed in Fustāṭ, Egypt, and in the presence of those whose names are signed below. Thus it was:
- 2 There appeared before us the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ², our lord and master³ 'Arūs, the honored elder al-Arjawānī⁴, son of our lord and master Joseph, the honored
- 3 elder, al-Mihdāwī⁵, and said to us: Take my testimony, and ratify it on my part at this moment, write it down and have it signed for me, using all the sacred
- 4 terms and the hallowed expressions⁶, and in language that will fully exempt me⁷, and hand this [document] to the Sheikh Abū al-'Alā Ṣā'id⁸
- 5 of Da[mascus.....] 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, the honored elder, the trusted Levite, trusted of the Bēth Dīn and accredited of the Yeshibhah, son of our lord and master Joseph,
- 6 [the honored elder, that it remain in his possession] from now on and afterwards, as a document and a bond. Behold, I acknowledge before you in the most positive
- 7 and binding form of acknowledgment, being [in good health]⁹, in full possession of my will, voluntarily, not being forced, without constraint, coercion, without inadvertence or error,
- 8 or any infirmity in [me or illness] or any of the many [conditions] that make it impossible for me to give testimony, that I owe him, and have in my possession and in my care
- 9 and separate.....dīnārs and one kīrāṭ¹⁰ of fine gold in mithkāl¹¹ of Egyptian weight of good quality and true,
- 10 a legitimate debt and a binding liability¹². I shall pay¹³ him this after the Passover festival at the end of¹⁴

⁸ The use of the letter **ז** for **ס** is quite possible in these documents. The same person is mentioned in another document cited by Worman in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xx, p. 457: **אלשיך אבו אלעלא צאער ז עולה**—giving both his Arabic and his Hebrew name.

⁹ **فِي صَحَّةٍ مَنِّي**.

¹⁰ Usually = 1/24 of a dīnār. At the beginning of the line we might read **وخالص مالي** were it not necessary to suppose a number at this point.

¹¹ The *mithkāl* had various values. Here the word is probably used for "coin" in general.

¹² These Arabic words are followed by their equivalent in Hebrew.

¹³ **אקום**. Cf. **יקום** B, l. 15.

¹⁴ "in the course of" ?

- 11 ניסן מן סנה [א]לף ואר[ב]עמאיה ותמניה ועשרין למנין שט[רות] מן
אנין מא אמתלכה בלא
- 12 מדאפעה ולא ממאנעה ולא חגה ולא אחתגאג כל עיקר ולא ימין עלי
אסתיפא שי מן דלך
- 13 מן סאיר צנוף אלאימאן תקילהא וכפיפהא ואפילו על ידי גלגול ואפילו
חרם סתם ואחריות
- 14 חוב דנן עליי אנא ערום פי חיותי ועלי וראתי בעד ופאתי על כל [מין] ארג
נכסין קנין
- 15 ממון דאית לי ודיהוי לי תחות כל שמיא בביתא ובברא ממקרקעי
וממטלטלי ואפילו
- 16 מגלימא דעל כתפאי דלא כאסמכאתא ודלא כטופסי דשטרי אילא כחומר
ובח[וז]ק
- 17 כלשטרי מחזקי מזויי דבי די[נא] ותקנאתא דרבנן וכתבת לה הדא
אלכתאב ליכון בידה
- 18 וביד וראתה בעדה אריך ושריר וקיים ומוחזק דיזכון ביה בכל בתי דינין
לעלם לא כאל
- 19 אסנאדאט ולא כמצאדיד אלכתב אלא כאוכד ואתקן מא סטרו[ה] רבותינו
זל פי כתב
- 20 אלדיון ובטילית נמי כל מודעי ותנאי ומודעי דמודעי ומודעי דנפקין מגו
מודעי עד
- 21 סוף כל מודעי דמסירין לי ודמסרנא על שטר חוב דנן כתיקון חכמים
וקנינא מן מר ור
- 22 ערום [הזקן] הנכבד דנן בר מר ור יוסף הזקן הנכבד נע לכנגק מר ור עולה
הלוי הנאמן
- 23 נאמן בית דין ו[רצוי] הישיבה דנן בר מר ור יוסף הזקן הלוי נע במנא
דכשר למקניא ביה
- 24 על כל מה דכ[תיב מ]פרש לעילא ומה דהוה קדמנא אנן בי דינא ומאן
דחתים עימנא לתחתא
- 25 כתבנא וחתמנא [נא] ויהבנא לבגן מר ור עולה הלוי הנאמן [דליהוי] בידיה
לזכו ולראיה

¹⁵ The Seleucid Era, beginning 312 B.C.

¹⁶ Literally: "light or heavy."

- 11 Nisan of the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight according to the Era of Documents¹⁵, in the same good coin which he possessed. [He does this] without
- 12 any constraint or restraint, argument or discussion at all, or any oath for the carrying-out of any part of this [agreement],
- 13 from among all the various kinds of oaths, unimportant or capital¹⁶; not even by means of an oath of implication, nor by any unqualified vow. [The return
- 14 of this money] is an obligation upon me, 'Arūs, during my lifetime, and upon my heirs after my death, upon anything worth while that I may possess—property, possessions
- 15 or money that is mine or that I may possess under all the heavens, at home or abroad, real or personal property, even to the covering that is
- 16 upon my shoulders: not like simple acts of recovery or mere contract formularies, but like full and valid documents:
- 17 invincible, irresistible writs of the court of justice, and the ordinances of the rabbis. I have written this document in his favor, that it may be in his possession
- 18 and in the possession of his heirs after him: a document lasting, stable and durable; it being understood that they can make use of it in any court of justice and for all time to come: not like
- 19 simple acts of recovery¹⁷ or mere contract-formularies¹⁸, but as the most binding and stable documents that our rabbis¹⁹ have laid down for documents
- 20 acknowledging debts. I declare void all protests and conditions and protests of protests, and protests that may be developed from protests to the *n*th
- 21 degree that may be made for me, or that we may have made in connection with this deed of claim—[all] in accordance with the statutes of the wise men. We have received from our lord and master, this
- 22 'Arūs, the honored [elder], son of our lord and master Joseph, the honored elder, for our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī, the trusted one²⁰,
- 23 this one trusted of the Bēth Dīn and accredited of the Yeshibah, this son of our lord and master Joseph ha-Lēvī the elder²¹, [a guarantee] in current money
- 24 according to all that is set forth explicitly above, and which has been brought before us, the Court of Justice, and before those whose names are signed for us below.
- 25 We have written this, sealed it, and given it to our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī the trusted one, that he keep it as evidence and as proof.

¹⁷ There is a hole in the paper here.

¹⁸ اسنادات.

¹⁹ See Merx, *Documents de Paléographie Hébraïque et Arabe*, p. 32, note.

²⁰ הָיָה. Words of blessing following names are omitted in the translation.

²¹ See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 196.

26 וכאן דלך פי אלעשר אלאכיר מן חדש תמוז דשנת אלפא וארבעמאה
ועשרין ושבעה

27 שנין למניינא דרגילינא ביה בפסטאט מצרים דעל גילוס נהרא [מותבה]
ותאכרת כתאמתנא

28 אלי אלעשר אלאול מן חדש אב אלתאלי לה מן אלסנה אלמדכורה שריר
ובריר וקיים

29 אברהם ברבי שמעיה החבר נכת ניא גין שמעיהו גאון נע

30 יצחק ב"ר שמואל הספרדי זכ ל"ח הע הב יפת ברי דוד ...
ח א ב

B

Verso:

1 שהדותא דהות באנפנא אנן שהדי דחתימת ידנא לתחתא ... [אן חצר]
אלינא אלשיך

2 אבו אלעלא צאעד אלדמשקי כגק מר ור עולה הזקן הנכבד ה[לוי הנאמן]
נאמן בי[ת דין ורצוי הישיבה

3 ב[ן] מר ור יוסף הזקן הנכבד הלוי נע וקאל לנא למא תוגה מ'
[מ]ר ור יפת הזקן

4 נע אלי דיאר אלימן אנפרת צחב[תה] ... ולמא חב אללה בסלא[מתה]
אלתוא ... לבתה

5 בדלך פי בית דין וגרי ביננא משוג[ראת כתי]רה פי מגאלס אליה[ור] ... [אן]
אקר אכרהא אן דכלו

6 ביננא זקני יושר וכושר פי דלך בדרך פשרה וקררו אן [אל]שיך
אבו אלאפראח

7 כגק מר ור ערום הזקן הנכבד אלארגואני בר כגק מר [ור יוסף הזקן]
הנכבד נע ען גמיע

8 מא אסתחק ענה ממא כנת אנפרתה מעה פי אלי דיאר אלימן ופי
גמיע

²² One can read *تَأَخَذَتْ* or *وَتَأَخَذَتْ* or *تَأَخَذَتْ*.

²³ I.e. the Passover festival.

²⁴ The letters placed above names sometimes spell a title, e.g. *המלמד* = *מַלְמֶדֶת* בר יפת "the teacher." (Taylor-Schechter 13, J 1. No. 1.) Sometimes they spell the name of the person's father. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 102. At other times they are the initials of

- 26 This happened during the last ten days of the month Tammuz, of the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven,
 27 according to the era that we are accustomed to use in Fustāṭ of Egypt, situate upon the river Nile. Our signature was affixed [only]²²
 28 upon the tenth day of the month of Ab, that follows it²³, of the aforementioned year.
 Certain! Clear! Established!
 29 Abraham son of Rabbi Shema'yah, the Ḥābēr, descendant of Shema'yah Gāōn.
 30 [Signed by] Isaac, son of R. Samuel²⁴ ha-Sefardī.
 Yepheth, son of R. David (?).....

B

Verso:

- 1 Testimony in regard to the affair that was treated before us—we who have placed our signature below:.....[There appeared] before us the Sheikh
 2 Abū al-ʿAlā Ṣāʿid of Damascus, our lord and master ʿUlāh, the revered elder ha-[Lēvī, the trusted one, trusted of the court] of justice and accredited of the Yeshībhah,
 3 son of our lord and master Joseph, the revered elder ha-Lēvī, and said to us: When.....our lord and master Yepheth, the elder
 4 went to the country of al-Yemen, a partner[ship] was agreed upon between us (?)¹; and, when God was gracious enough to permit him to return to us in health², when the case was brought
 5 before the Court of Justice, many difficulties³ arose between us.....in the end an agreement (?) was reached that there should come between us
 6 righteous and God-fearing elders in this matter, in order that a settlement⁴ might be arrived at. So, there came to an agreement.....the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāh,
 7 our lord and master ʿArūs, the honored elder al-Arjawānī, son of our lord [and master Joseph the] honored elder, in respect to all that to which I
 8 have a right of that which I had given (?) to him [to take with him]⁵ to the districts of al-Yemen, and in regard to

words making up a pious wish. The last signature is badly written. Perhaps Yepheth was a very old man at this time. In Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, 97, we find Yepheth the Ḥazzān, son of Rabbi David, identical with Yepheth b. David b. Shekhanya, who signed documents as early as A.D. 1020, ninety-six years before our document.

B

¹ Text illegible. It may be *انفذت صحيفة بيننا*; or, simply *انفذت صحبته*.

² The sense is quite certain, but the text is not easily restored.

³ *مشاجرات*.

⁴ *פְּשָׁרָה*. Cf. line 24: i.e. that the affair should be amicably arranged, without a trial before the Court of Law.

⁵ Perhaps insert *في المسيرة*.

- 9 פאידה וג[מיע] מא יתנה לי עליה מן אנואע אלמטאלבה ועלי אכתלאף
אנאסהא מימו[ת]
- 10 עולם ועד עכשו בארבעה דנאנר וקיראט מן דלך דינארין עאגלה ודינארין
וקיראט
- 11 אגלה יקום בהא בעד פסח מן סנתנא הדה אלתי הי סנה אתכח לשטרות
ואברי מ עלאן
- 12 דנן מן גמיע אלדעאוי ואלמטאלבאת ומן כל זכות יתנה לי עליה
מימו[ת] עולם ועד
- 13 עכשו פרצית בדלך ואבריתה בבית דין בקנין גמור חמור בכלי הכשר
לקנות בו מעכשו
- 14 בביטול כל מודעין ותנאין וקבצת מן כאלה אלשיך אבו אלאפראח ערוס
דנן אלדינא[רין] אלדי
- 15 אסתקך אן יקום בהא עאגלה ובקי לי על[י]ה אלדינארין וקיראט אלאגלה
כתבת בה אן
- 16 עליה אלשטר חוב אלמדכור פי באטן הדה אלורקה ולמא כאן אלאן תפצל
ועגל לי בהא
- 17 ותסלמתהא מנה וברי מנהא ומן דרכהא ולם יבק לי [פי] ג[מיע]תהא מא
קימתה אפילו
- 18 משוי פרוטה ולעילא פאשהדו עלי אנא עולה הלוי ואקנו מני מעכשו
ואכתבו ואכתמו
- 19 עלי בגמיע אלאלפאט אלמחכמה ואלמעאני אלמוכדה ובכל ל[י]ש[א]ני
דזכואתא [ו]ס[למו ד]לך
- 20 אלי אלשיך אבו אלאפראח ערוס דנן ליכון בידה לליום ובעדה ח[גה]
ו[ח]תאק אנני מ[קד] ענדכם
- 21 באוכד מעאני אלאקראראת ואותקהא פי צחה מני וגוא[ז] א[מר] [מא]יעא
מן גיר [קד]ר ולא גבר
- 22 ולא אכראה ולא סרו ולא גלט ולא עלה בי מן מרץ ולא גיר [דלך מן]
גמיע [מ]פסראת אל[ש]הא[דה] אנני
- 23 קד קבצת ותסלמת מנה ארבעה דנאנר וקיראט [דהבא עי]נא מתאקילה
ואזנה מצריה

9 all that had been gained, and in regard to all that belonged (?) ⁷ to me
 from him of the different things that I had the right to demand of him,
 in their various kinds, from the days
 10 of old until now : that it amounted to four dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ. Of these,
 two dīnārs were to be paid at once ; and two dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ
 11 should be kept ⁶ and paid by him after the Passover festival of this year
 which is the year 1428 according to the Era of Documents. This Mar
 ‘Allān was declared free
 12 from any further claims or demands, or from any gain that might be
 due (?) ⁷ to me from days of old until
 13 today. Now I have agreed to this and have given him a quittance in
 the Court of Justice, by means of a perfect, all-comprising, bill of sale,
 with all the legal apparatus with which it is customary to make such
 quittance at this time,
 14 by declaring void any provisions and conditions. I have received from
 his maternal uncle, Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ the two dīnārs which
 15 it was agreed should be paid at once on his account. There remained
 owing to me from him the two dīnārs and a ḳīrāṭ to be paid afterwards;
 for which ⁸ I
 16 had drawn up the promissory note mentioned in this paper. And now
 that he has been kind enough, and the payment of this sum has been
 accelerated to me,
 17 and I have received it from him, and he is free from it and from any
 liability in regard to it ; and since I have no longer any pecuniary
 interest at all in it, even
 18 that of a penny or more, receive, therefore, this testimony from me, ‘Ulāh
 ha-Lēvī, and ratify it on my part at this moment. Write it down, and
 have it signed for me,
 19 using all the sacred terms and the binding expressions, and in language
 that will fully exempt him, and hand this statement
 20 to this Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ ‘Arūs, that it remain in his possession from
 now on and afterwards as a document and a bond. Behold! I acknow-
 ledge before you,
 21 in the most positive and binding form of acknowledgment, being in good
 health, in full possession of my will-power, voluntarily, not being forced,
 without coercion and
 22 constraint, without inadvertence or error, or any hindrance arising from
 illness, or any of the many [conditions] that might make it impossible
 for me to give testimony—that I
 23 received and accepted from him four dīnārs and one ⁹ ḳīrāṭ of fine gold
 in mithḳāls of Egyptian weight

⁷ This curious verbal form can scarcely be anything but **أَتَجَّه** from **يَتَجَّه**, the VIII
 form of **وجه**. It usually means “to face.”

⁸ There are two very strange characters at the end of the line. Perhaps **אלאן**, “now.”

⁹ There is no room for **ואחד**. Cf. A, line 9.

- 24 גי[א]דנא צח[א]חא אלדי וקעת עליהא אלפשרה ען מ עלא[ן ב] אכתה מן
דלך דינארין עאגלה
- 25 ואלדינאר[ין] אלמכורה לי פי באטן הדא אלשטר חסב מא תקדם דכר
דלך לעילא וצאר גמיע דלך
- 26 אלי עכמאלה ותמאמה ואבריתה מנה ומן הדא אלשטר ומן אלימין
עלי שי מנה ואפילו על ידי גלגול
- 27 [ואפי]לו חרם סתם בראה כאמלה תאמה באוכד מעאני אלאבארי ואותקא
וכתיקון חכמים
- 28 וכתבת לה הדא אלכתאב ליכון בידה וביד וראתה בעדה עלי ועלי וראתי
בעדי אריך ושריר וקיים
- 29 ומוחזק דיוכון ביה בכל בתי דיני ולעלם לא כאלאסנאדאט ולא כמצאדיר
אלכתב אלא כאוכד ואתקן
- 30 מא סטרוה רבותינו ז"ל פי כתב אלאבארי ובטילית נמי כל מודעין ותנאין
דמסי[ר]ין לי ודמ[סרנא]
- 31 על שטרא דנן כתיקון חכמ וקנינא מן מר ור עולה הלוי נאמן בית דין ורצוי
הישיבה דנן בר מר
- 32 ור [י]וסף הלוי הזקן נע לפגך מר ור ערום הזקן הנכבד דנן ביר יוסף הזקן
נע במנא דכשר למקניא
- 33 על כל מה דכתיב ומפרש לעילא ושהדותא דא כתבנא וחתמנא וי[הב]נא
למר ור ערום הזקן דנן
- 34 דליהוי בירי[ה] לזכו ולראיה וכאן דלך פי אלעשר אלאביר מן תש[רי] מן
אלסנה אלמכורה לעילא אלתי
- 35 הי סנה אתכח למגין שטרות בפסמאט מצרים דעל ני[לוס] נהר[א] מותבה
שרי[ר] ובריר וקיים
- מבורך בר נתן סט חלפון הלוי ביר מנשה נע

- 24 of good quality and true, according to the agreement reached with Mar
 'Allān his nephew in regard to these two dinārs which were to be paid
 at once
 25 and the two dinārs mentioned by me in this paper, as has been stated
 above. All this has come
 26 to me completely and in its entirety. I now free him from this [debt]
 and from [the provision of] this document, and from taking an oath in
 regard to any part of it, even a compulsory oath
 27 —a complete and entire release, in the widest and fullest sense of that
 term and according to the statutes of the wise men.
 28 I have written this document in his favor, that it may be in his possession
 and in the possession of his heirs after him: binding upon me and my
 heirs after me; lasting, stable, and durable:
 29 it being understood that they can make use of it in any court of justice
 and for all time to come; not like simple acts of recovery, or mere
 contract-formularies, but as the most binding and stable documents
 30 that our rabbis have laid down for us in regard to the documents of
 release. I, further, declare void any protests or conditions which may
 have been made for me or which I may have made
 31 in regard to this document, in accordance with the statutes of the wise
 men. We have received from this our lord and master 'Ulāh ha-Lēvī,
 the trusted one of the Court of Justice, and accredited of the Yeshibhah,
 the son of our master
 32 and lord Joseph ha-Lēvī, for our lord and master this 'Arūs, the honored
 elder, son of Rabbi Joseph, the elder, in current money, according to all
 33 that is set out explicitly above. This testimony we have written down
 and signed, and have handed over to our lord and master this 'Arūs
 the elder, that it remain with him
 34 as proof and as evidence. This occurred during the last ten days of
 Tishri, of the year mentioned above, which is
 35 the year 1428, according to the Era of Documents, in Fustāṭ of Egypt,
 situate upon the river Nile. Certain! Clear! Established!
 36 [Signed] Mebōrākh, son of Nathan
 Halfōn ha-Lēvī, son of Menasseh.

II. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Arabic and Hebrew, in fairly legible cursive Hebrew characters.

Recto :

- 1 בִּשְׁם רַחֵם אֱשֶׁרִי מִשְׁכִּיל אֵל דָּל בְּיוֹם רַעָה יִמְלִיחֵהוּ יי אֲנִי יי
- 2 כִּי יי יִהְיֶה בְּכַסְלְךָ וּשְׁמֶר רִגְלְךָ מִלֵּכָד כִּי תַעֲבֹר בְּמִים אַתָּךְ
- 3 שְׁלוֹם וּבִרְכָה מִמּוֹשְׁנָה כְּתוּרָה וְכַהֲלָכָה לִיקָר הִדְרָת יִקְרָת צִפִּירַת תַּפְאֶרֶת
- 4 כְּבוֹד גְּדוּלַת קֶךְ מִרְנָא וּרְבִנָא יְהוּדָה הַשֵּׁר הַגָּדוֹל וְהַאֲדִיר בְּעַם יי תַּפְאֶרֶת הַשֵּׁרִים
- 5 עֲמַרְתָּ הַסּוֹפְרִים יִשְׁמְרוּ שׁוֹמְרֵי נְפֻצּוֹת חֲסִידוֹ וִיהִי לּוֹ מוֹשִׁיעַ וְנוֹאֵל
- 6 וַיַּחֲיֶיהָ שְׁנֵי חֲמוּדָיו הַשֵּׁרִים סַגִּי הַכְּהֻנִּים יֶאֱרִיךְ אֱלֹהִים יְמֵיהֶם בְּטוֹב וּשְׁנוֹתָם
- 7 בְּנַעֲיָמִים בָּר כֶּגֶךְ מִרְנָא וּרְבִנָא אֵל[ע]זֹר הַשֵּׁר הַכֹּהֵן הַאֲדִיר שֶׁר הַגְּדִיבִים תַּפְאֶרֶת הַשֵּׁרִים
- 8 הַחֲשׁוּבִים זָעַל עֲבִדְהָא יִקְבַּל יִדְיָהּ וַיִּנְהִי בְּסַמְיָהָ מָא הוּא עֲלִיָּה מִן אֶלְשׁוֹק אֱלִי
- 9 נִצְרָהָא וְאַלְתֵּאֲסָף עָלֵי מָא יִפּוֹת מִן קִרְבָּהָא וְלִמָּא כֵּאֵן פִּי הָדָא אֶלְגִּמְעָה עוֹלַת עָלֵי
- 10 אֶלְדְּכוּל אֱלִי סַאמִיָּהָ פַחְצֵרוֹ קוּם מִן בִּלְבִים דְּכָרוֹ לַעֲבִדְהָא אֵן אֲבוֹ אֶלְבָּהָא אֶלְדִּמְשָׁקִי
- 11 אֶלְדִּי פִי אֶלְקֶאֱהֶרָה מְקִים אֵן מֶר אֱלִי צִלְאֵחַ אֶלְדִּין וְאֶכְד תּוֹקִיעַ בְּתַקְרָמָה וְקֶאֱלוֹ עוֹעַד אֶלְדִּין... עֲבִדָּה אֲנֶה
- וְדִכְרוּ
בְּמִנְיָהּ זָפְתָא

¹ This seems to be a Jewish replica of the usual Muslim introduction بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ. Cf. also Steinschneider, *Die Arabische Literatur der Juden*, p. xxxi.

² Psalm xli, 2.

³ Proverbs iii, 26.

⁴ Isaiah xliii, 2.

⁵ For the use of הָמוּד in the sense of "son," cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 54, l. 8, 58.

⁶ This alludes to the fact that the family was of priestly descent.

⁷ Refers to Judah ha-Köhēn in line 4.

⁸ The feminine suffix here and in the following words is quite inexplicable—except as referring to תַּפְאֶרֶת in line 7.

[illegible]

פסוקים ופסוקים ופסוקים

II. LETTER

A letter from Shabbatai, son of Abraham, Ḥābēr, of Minyat Zifta, to Judah ha-Kōhēn, the son of Eleazar, Dayyān of Bilbais, complaining that Jews of Bilbais are injuring his position in Minyat Zifta.

Shabbatai signed documents in A.D. 1154. Judah was appointed Dayyān in 1187, after which date our letter was probably written.

Recto :

- 1 In the name of Mercy¹! Happy is he who takes cognizance of the poor ;
on the day of evil God will deliver him².
- 2 For God will be thy hope and will keep thy feet from stumbling³, [as it
is said:] "When thou goest through the water, I am with thee⁴."
- 3 Peace and prolonged blessing, as [promised in] the Law and in tradition,
to the Honorable Crown of Glory,
- 4 his Illustrious Greatness, our Lord and Master, Judah ha-Kōhēn, the Great
and Mighty Prince among the People of God, the Glory of Princes,
- 5 the Diadem of Scribes. May He preserve him who preserves his scat-
tered pious ones, and may He be unto him a healer and deliverer !
- 6 May he also preserve in life his two sons⁵, the princes, the assistant priests⁶.
May God lengthen their days in the [enjoyment of] good things, and
their years
- 7 in pleasantness—son of⁷ our Lord and Master Eleazar ha-Kōhēn, the
Prince, the Glorious, Chief among Princes, the Glory of Worthy
- 8 Princes. His slave kisses his hands⁸, and brings to the attention of his
Highness⁹ how ardent his desire is for
- 9 his well being, and his regret (?) at the length of time during which he is
away from him¹⁰. Now when it occurred in this week that I was
boorishly denied entrance
- 10 to his Highness, people came from Bilbais and mentioned to his slave¹¹
that Abū al-Bahā of Damascus,
- 11 who was living in Cairo, had come to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn¹², and had taken a
promise from him of promotion in Minyat Zifta¹³, and they mentioned

⁹ Cf. Bodleian, No. 2874, 11: יְהִי אֵלַי סִמְכָהּ אֵן. السامی was one of the honorific titles used in Egyptian protocols. See the interesting discussion of these titles, from which come many of our Hebrew ones in these documents, in al-Ḳalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. vi, p. 15, and Max van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, 1, 446.

¹⁰ The translation is a suggestion merely: مَا يَفُوتُ مِنْ قَرْبِهِ.

¹¹ I.e. to himself, the writer.

¹² Between the lines there has been inserted: "And some say 'Awwād (written עווער) al-Dīn...his slave."

¹³ Ibn Duḡmāk, *Description de l'Égypte* (Vollers), v, 109; Mann, *op. cit.*, Index s.v.

12 אִיצָא אֶלְמַחְלָה וְאֵן אֶלְגַּמְאָעָה דְכָרוּ אָנָה קָאֵל יָרִיד כְּטוּטָהֶם בְּרִצָּאָהֶם בַּה
פִּקְאָלוּ אֶלְיָהוּד

13 לֹא תִתְכַּלֵּם חֲתִי נִבְצָר אֶלְחָאֵל וְאֶעְאָקוֹנִי עֵן אֶלְדְּכּוֹל חֲתִי אֲבָצָר אֶלְדִּי יִגְרִי בֵּל

14 קָאֵלוּ לִי אֶלְיָהוּד אֲנַפְדָּ לְמוֹלָאִי אֶלְשִׁיךְ אֶלְתַּקָּה וְאֵלִי אֶלְשִׁיךְ אֲבּוֹ אֶלְפִּצָּל
אֶלְנוֹר וְלֹד

15 מוֹלָאִי אֶלְנוֹר זֶל לִיכּוֹן מַעֲלָם עֲנַדְהֶם לֹאֵן אֶלְדִּיאֲנִין מֵא עֲנַדְהֶם עֵלָם מִן שִׂיא

16 מִן הִדָּה וְאֶשְׁתֵּהִי מִן אֲנַעְאֲמָהָא תַּעֲרַף מִלָּאִי אֶלְשִׁיךְ אֶלְסַעִיד אֶלְמוֹפֵק יַצְלִיחוּ
אֱלֹהִיא

17 בְּכֹל דְּרַבִּינּוּ אֶלְקִיִּים יִמְצָא חֵן בְּעֵינֵי אֱלֹהִים וְאֶדָם וִיקִיִּים עֲלִיו וְיִהִי דְוִיד לְכֹל

18 דְּרַבִּינּוּ מִשְׁכִּיל וְיִי עֵמּוֹ וְתִנְעַל אֶלְעֵלָם עֲנַדָּה פֹאֵן עֲבַדְהָא מִן צִנְאִיעָה אֶלְלָה

19 לֹא יַעֲד מְנִי אֲנַעְאֲמָהָא וְאֶצְטַנְאֶעְהָא פִּי כָל וְקַת וְקַד חֲאֶשְׁאֶהָא אֶלְלָה אֵן
תְּכוֹן מִלּוֹ

20 סְרַגְהָא אֲנָת וְמוֹלָאִי אֶלְשִׁיךְ אֶלְמוֹפֵק וְנִדְכֵּל עָלִי עֲאֲדָנָן וְאֲנָא מִנְתַּצֵּר גּוֹאֵב
כְּתָאֲבִי

21 בְּמֵאָה [ע]לִי בַּה אֲנָת וְמוֹלָאִי אֶלְשִׁיךְ אֶלְמוֹפֵק וְתַחֲצֵר אֶלְנוֹר יִשְׁמַרְהוּ צוֹר
וְתֹאבֵד

22 רֵאִיָּה ו . . . בַּחֲמִתִּיךְ אֶסְאֶלְהָא פִּי בְצֵט אֶלְעֲדָר בַּחֲכָם עוֹלָם מוֹצֵלְהָא
וְתִכּוֹן עֲנִי וְאֶלְדִּי

23 מוֹלָאִי אֶלְכֹּהֵן אֶלְסָרִיד אֲבּוֹ אֶלְמִזְרָבִי יִתֵּם סְלָאֵם וְכִדְלֵךְ אֶלְשִׁיךְ אֲבּוֹ אֶלְמִנְגָא
אֶלְלָה

24 יַגְעֵלָה שְׁלוֹם וִיפְתַח אֶל מַאֲוָצְרוֹ הַטּוֹב עֲבַדְהָא וְלִדְהָא אֲבּוֹ סַעֲד יִקְבֹּל קְדָמִיָּהָא

25 וְלֹלָא רֵאִי אֶלְיָהוּד לְמֵא כֹאֵן עוֹיִן הִדָּה אֶלְאַחֲרַף אֶלָּא עֲבַדְהָא וְשְׁלוֹם הִדְרָתָהּ

26 הַקְדוּשָׁה וְשְׁלוֹם שְׁנֵי הַשְּׂרִים הַכְּהָנִים חֲמִדִּיָּה יִגְדֵּל לַעֲד וְאֵלִי דֵּל יַעֲקוֹב חֲאֶלָּה

Margin:

אֶלָּא חֲדִית אֶלְיָהוּדִי אֶלְדִּין מִן בִּלְבִים
פִּקְלָת אֶלְוֹאֲגָב אֵן יִכּוֹן לַעֲלָם עֲנַדְהָא

¹⁴ Between Alexandria and Damietta. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 62.

¹⁵ מוֹלִי.

¹⁶ Above are the letters יִשְׁמַרְהֶם צוֹרֵנוּ = "May our Rock preserve them."

¹⁷ תַּעֲרַף = תַּעֲרַף. ¹⁸ Written מִלָּאִי.

¹⁹ After Nehemiah ii, 20.

²⁰ Or אֶלְפִּיִּים.

²¹ Proverbs iii, 4.

12 also al-Maḥallah¹⁴, and a lot of them added that he had said that he wished their signature, expressing their satisfaction with him. The Jews answered :

13 "Do not say anything until we have looked into the matter." They prevented me from coming, so as to learn what had happened. But

14 the Jews said to me, "Write to our master¹⁵, the Sheikh al-Thiḡah and to Sheikh Abū al-Faḍl al-Nūr, son of

15 our master al-Nūr, that he become a teacher among them, because the judges¹⁶ have no knowledge whatsoever

16 concerning the matter." I desire that his Grace should inform¹⁷ our master¹⁸ the Sheikh al-Sa'īd al-Muwaffiḡ—may God prosper him¹⁹

17 in all his ways²⁰—may he find grace in the eyes of God and of man²¹, and may there be applied to him the Biblical verse: "And David was

18 intelligent in all his doings, and God was with him²²"—and make the matter known to him. Now his slave²³—the least of God's children—

19 has not been lacking his²⁴ favor and his good will at all times. God forbid that you should be in a divided state of mind²⁵,

20 you and my master al-Sheikh al-Muwaffiḡ! Let us return to our usual custom. I am awaiting an answer to my letter

21 in regard to what [you reply to]²⁶ me—you and my master the Sheikh al-Muwaffiḡ. Bring al-Nūr—may the Rock preserve him!—and get

22 his view and in thy wisdom²⁷. I would ask you boldly²⁸ for help for all time to come; and that you serve me in the place of a father.

23 My best greetings to my master the righteous priest al-Maghrabi; and so also to the Sheikh Abū al-Munajja²⁹. May God

24 grant him peace! May God open for him His good treasure³⁰! His slave and his [slave's] son³¹ kiss his feet.

25 And were it not for the opinion of the Jews, these words would not have been written so mysteriously about³² your slave. Greetings to his

26 Holiness, and greetings to the two priestly princes, his sons. May he be exalted forever, and the poor of Jacob

Margin:

In regard to³² the case of the Jew [and] the Dayyān of Bilbais, I said: "It is right that he should be informed."

²² I Samuel xviii, 14. After this long interruption, the text is taken up from line 16 as if nothing had intervened. ²³ The writer. ²⁴ The addressee's.

²⁵ A pure guess. The text seems perfectly plain מלוי סרינה, the feminine suffix (cf. note 8. הָ = ה' = -u in this text) referring to the addressee. Lane (p. 1343) notes an old Arabic expression from the Ḥamāsah: "مال سرجك" "thy affair has become in a disordered state." Perhaps مَلَوَى سِرْجَه with the same import.

²⁶ The words are all blurred here. ²⁷ Plural.

²⁸ Reading بِسَاط = بَصَاط. As in modern Cairene, the emphatic ط changes س into ص.

²⁹ Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 215.

³⁰ Cf. Deut. xxviii, 12. ³¹ Read וּלְדָהָא.

³² אֵלַי means "concerning," and probably stands for עָלַי.

Verso :

- 1 ובעד גמיע מא צמרתה חצרו קום יהוד ערפוני אן קאל דבאח אנפד אלי
 ענד אבו אלבהא^{הדייה} וקל לה
 2 פלישתמך ואנפד לה הדיה וקאל לה כד לי אלתקדמך באסמך ואנא אפעל
 לך גמיע מא תריד
 3 ונבצר אן כאן צהרה ינפעה ובאללה עליך אן תוצי' ענה[?] אנא אערף עדרך
 ואלשיך אלמופק הוה ינפד
 4 דלך קאלה בג וינכיר עליך פעלה אנהא ממלוכהא דלך ועף בשלום

Address :

- 1 אלהדרת כגק מרנא ורבנא יהודה הכהן השר הגדול^{??} ו[האדיר]
 2 בעם י' הירא את י' יהי שמו לעולם בר כגק מרנ[?] ורבנ אלעזר
 3 הכהן שר הנדיבים תפארת השרים החשובים זל[?]
 4 עבדהא לא עדם
 בקאהא
 שבת^{??} בירבי אברדם הדיין
 החבר תנצבה

³³ = *سطرته*. Cf. note 28.

³⁴ *الذباح*.

Verso:

- 1 And after all that I have written³³ a number of Jews came and informed me that Dabbāḥ³⁴ said "Send to Abū al-Bahā a present, and say to him:
- 2 'May it not insult you.'" So he sent him a present, and said: "Get the promotion for me in your name, and I shall do for you all that you wish."
- 3 We shall see if his brother-in-law will help him. By Allah! It is for you to command concerning him. I know your excuse. The Sheikh al-Muwaffiq—let him send.
- 4 This he said.....³⁵ And let him find fault with him for what he has done. Verily this is your servant. Good luck!

Address:

- 1 To our Glorious Lord and Master, Judah ha-Kōhēn, the Great and Mighty Prince
- 2 among the people of God, who fear God—May his name be remembered forever—son of our Lord and Master Eleazar
- 3 ha-Kōhēn, Prince of the Noble, Glory of Renowned Princes,
- 4 [Signed:] Shabbatai, son of Rabbi Abraham the Judge, the Ḥābēr, his slave. May he never be bereft of him³⁶!

³⁵ Do בָּז stand for **بجميع** "in all"?

³⁶ Reading **لَا عَدَمَ بَقَائِهِ**.

III. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

The paper is now much damaged, and the ink pale. The handwriting is so slovenly that whole groups of letters assume the same form. On the other hand, the same letter of the alphabet may assume many forms. The number of possible readings is thus very great, and their value correspondingly small. If the language were even tolerably pure and the thought connected, translation might still be possible. But the writer is vague and incoherent—perhaps even intentionally cryptic and mysterious. One doubts that Arabic is his natural tongue at all. It may be safely said that this letter would not have been clear even to a contemporary Egyptian acquainted with the secret diplomacy of the situation. Cf. Nos. XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, and XXXV.

Recto:

- 1 כתאבי יאכי וסי[די] אלעיוז עלי אמאל אללה בקאך וואדאם סל[אמתך]
- 2 וסעאדתך מן אסכנדריה לו' איאם בקין מן שהר איר ען סלאמה
- 3 ונעמה ושוק אליך קרב אללה אלאגתמע בך עלי אפצל חאל ומה
- 4 תריר עלמה אן תקדם כתאבי אליך מע אלכלבים יערפוך פיה
- 5 וצול כתאבך אלי עלא וואנת תקול לה לא תרפע לאבי.... אל[א]
- 6 בעד אלעיד וקר סאלתך אן תפ[ע]ל אל. ורין אלקנע.....
- 7 לה ידפעוה אלי פי איר וסיון אן יגעלהא פי ניסן ואיר
- 8 לאנה שהר אן עטים לים הו' מתל אלשהר ועלינא פיה
- 9 לגיראננא לואזם ונחן מנתטרין ללגואב תם בעד הדא
- 10 וצל חסון ווצל מעה כתאבך וואנת תדכר פיה.....
- 11 וקר ר'אע. [אלי]ום כתאבי אליך וקר ואללה יאכי סאלנאה פי..
- 12 שראכיה ידפעוה לנא אכא יפעל לא הו' ולא עלאן וחק
- 13 הדא אלאחרף אן נמור לה פי חאנה לא מתל ואחר ימור
- 14 אלי כניסיה עבודה זרה לאן לים הון יהודי תמור יקציך

¹ Quite plainly, Hebrew כלבים, meaning "rascals"? Cf. No. XXI, *recto*, line 5

² ^עעלא would seem to be ^עעלא and not ^עעלי. But our fragment No. I gives in line 5 עולא, and so we have read עלא as ^עעלי throughout the collection. Cf. also Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimids*, p. 283, col. 3, line 8.

³ I.e. Nisan.

⁴ וקר ואללה is evidently an oath. Is it for ^וوالقدر ^ووالله? Cf. line 16.

⁵ ^ששראכיה for ^ששראכיה.

⁶ ^אאחא. ⁷ נמור : perhaps for ^ננמר etc.

[The page contains dense handwritten Hebrew text written diagonally from top-left to bottom-right. The script appears to be Ashkenazic or Sephardic cursive.]

[illegible]

1870
 1871
 1872
 1873
 1874
 1875
 1876
 1877
 1878
 1879
 1880
 1881
 1882
 1883
 1884
 1885
 1886
 1887
 1888
 1889
 1890
 1891
 1892
 1893
 1894
 1895
 1896
 1897
 1898
 1899
 1900
 1901
 1902
 1903
 1904
 1905
 1906
 1907
 1908
 1909
 1910
 1911
 1912
 1913
 1914
 1915
 1916
 1917
 1918
 1919
 1920
 1921
 1922
 1923
 1924
 1925
 1926
 1927
 1928
 1929
 1930
 1931
 1932
 1933
 1934
 1935
 1936
 1937
 1938
 1939
 1940
 1941
 1942
 1943
 1944
 1945
 1946
 1947
 1948
 1949
 1950
 1951
 1952
 1953
 1954
 1955
 1956
 1957
 1958
 1959
 1960
 1961
 1962
 1963
 1964
 1965
 1966
 1967
 1968
 1969
 1970
 1971
 1972
 1973
 1974
 1975
 1976
 1977
 1978
 1979
 1980
 1981
 1982
 1983
 1984
 1985
 1986
 1987
 1988
 1989
 1990
 1991
 1992
 1993
 1994
 1995
 1996
 1997
 1998
 1999
 2000
 2001
 2002
 2003
 2004
 2005
 2006
 2007
 2008
 2009
 2010
 2011
 2012
 2013
 2014
 2015
 2016
 2017
 2018
 2019
 2020
 2021
 2022
 2023
 2024
 2025
 2026
 2027
 2028
 2029
 2030
 2031
 2032
 2033
 2034
 2035
 2036
 2037
 2038
 2039
 2040
 2041
 2042
 2043
 2044
 2045
 2046
 2047
 2048
 2049
 2050
 2051
 2052
 2053
 2054
 2055
 2056
 2057
 2058
 2059
 2060
 2061
 2062
 2063
 2064
 2065
 2066
 2067
 2068
 2069
 2070
 2071
 2072
 2073
 2074
 2075
 2076
 2077
 2078
 2079
 2080
 2081
 2082
 2083
 2084
 2085
 2086
 2087
 2088
 2089
 2090
 2091
 2092
 2093
 2094
 2095
 2096
 2097
 2098
 2099
 2100
 2101
 2102
 2103
 2104
 2105
 2106
 2107
 2108
 2109
 2110
 2111
 2112
 2113
 2114
 2115
 2116
 2117
 2118
 2119
 2120
 2121
 2122
 2123
 2124
 2125
 2126
 2127
 2128
 2129
 2130
 2131
 2132
 2133
 2134
 2135
 2136
 2137
 2138
 2139
 2140
 2141
 2142
 2143
 2144
 2145
 2146
 2147
 2148
 2149
 2150
 2151
 2152
 2153
 2154
 2155
 2156
 2157
 2158
 2159
 2160
 2161
 2162
 2163
 2164
 2165
 2166
 2167
 2168
 2169
 2170
 2171
 2172
 2173
 2174
 2175
 2176
 2177
 2178
 2179
 2180
 2181
 2182
 2183
 2184
 2185
 2186
 2187
 2188
 2189
 2190
 2191
 2192
 2193
 2194
 2195
 2196
 2197
 2198
 2199
 2200
 2201
 2202
 2203
 2204
 2205
 2206
 2207
 2208
 2209
 2210
 2211
 2212
 2213
 2214
 2215
 2216
 2217
 2218
 2219
 2220
 2221
 2222
 2223
 2224
 2225
 2226
 2227
 2228
 2229
 2230
 2231
 2232
 2233
 2234
 2235
 2236
 2237
 2238
 2239
 2240
 2241
 2242
 2243
 2244
 2245
 2246
 2247
 2248
 2249
 2250
 2251
 2252
 2253
 2254
 2255
 2256
 2257
 2258
 2259
 2260
 2261
 2262
 2263
 2264
 2265
 2266
 2267
 2268
 2269
 2270
 2271
 2272
 2273
 2274
 2275
 2276
 2277
 2278
 2279
 2280
 2281
 2282
 2283
 2284
 2285
 2286
 2287
 2288
 2289
 2290
 2291
 2292
 2293
 2294
 2295
 2296
 2297
 2298
 2299
 2300
 2301
 2302
 2303
 2304
 2305
 2306
 2307
 2308
 2309
 2310
 2311
 2312
 2313
 2314
 2315
 2316
 2317
 2318
 2319
 2320
 2321
 2322
 2323
 2324

1848

III. LETTER

A letter from a certain Abraham, "Reader of the Law," probably stopping in Alexandria, to his brother, 'Ulā Abū 'Umrān Moses, "Reader of the Law," probably living in Fustāṭ. There is no date.

There is mention of business concerns and troubles; especially difficulties arising from the circumstance that a heavy poll-tax was being levied on a small number of Jews. We learn incidentally that bedsteads were scarce; and that passages from the Song of Solomon were used—in what manner we are not told—to cure a drying up of the body, and boils. Some female relatives and children have outstayed their welcome and are quarrelling with one another; and similar tittle-tattle.

Recto:

- 1 My letter to [you], O my Brother and my Lord! God prolong your life
and continue your health
- 2 and your prosperity! From Alexandria, 7 days remaining of the month
of Iyyar. About health
- 3 and well-being and yearning for you! God grant a speedy reunion with
you under the most propitious circumstances! And what
- 4 you wish to know: My letter has gone forward to you with the dogs¹
who will tell you about it.
- 5 The arrival of your letter to 'Ulā²! And you say to him: "Do not pay
Abū.....until
- 6 after the festival." And I have already asked you to make the.....
- 7 for it, they paying it to me in Iyyar and Sivan, if they will make them in
Nisan and Iyyar,
- 8 because it³ is an important month: It is not like the month [of Iyyar].
And we are responsible in [the matter]
- 9 to our neighbors for necessary expenses, and we are waiting for the
answer. Then, after this
- 10 arrived Ḥassūn, and your letter arrived with him. And you mention in
it.....
- 11 But my letter has already.....to you today. By Allah, my Brother⁴! We
asked him about.....
- 12 collectively⁵ pay it to us as a brother⁶: Neither he nor 'Allān should do
it [singly]. And by
- 13 these very words [which I am writing]: If we go⁷ to him about anything⁸,
it is not as though one went
- 14 to a church⁹ of "Idol Worship"¹⁰, because there is no Jew here [for] you
[to] go [to to have him] do [something] for you :

⁸ حَاجَة is modern Egyptian colloquial for "thing."

⁹ كنيسة. Cf. No. XXVII, note 32.

¹⁰ The Hebrew title of a Mishnah tractate.

- 15 חאגה לא הו ולא גירה ודכרת אן תקולו לכנת פאלת¹¹ מול¹²
 16 צפר וקד ואללה יאכי צאק. . והם יכרגו בעד אלסנת
 17 ויכליו אלדאר ותכליתחא גיר לאן אלגויים אלדי עאד. .
 18 תעמל להם פי הדא אלעיד יעני אנהא.
 19 יצירו לך אעדא ויטירו אלדאר מן ירך ואנת תערפ¹³
 20 וולו שאורוני לקלת להם יקעדו אלי בעד אלעיד
 21 ודכרת אן ידפע לגרנה ה דנאניר וקד קלנא לה ידפע¹⁴
 22 לנא אלסעה עסי נשתריו להא¹⁵ סריר וק[.]
 23 להא אלא וקת ערפהא כמא קאל ואנת תערפ יאכי אן
 24 אלסריר הו וגה אלבית וליס יאכי יצאב אליוס לאן
 25 עשרה דנאניר אליה¹⁶ אקל למא יכון ויבקא עליהא
 26 גיר הדא חמאס אלמרגתין ואלחשו ואלמצריאא
 27 נחו עשרה דנאניר לא אקל מן הדא וא
 28 קד בלגנא¹⁷ אנה תכ"ס¹⁸ מעאניה וקד וצל
 29 כתאב¹⁹ אבוה

Margin :

והו יקול אן וצל אכי פי הדא אלמרה כלאף כל מרה פמא נערף מן אי וגה
 תולא מן מרתי ולא מן אכתי ולא אן מרתך²⁰ ונחן ננתצרה²¹ דכולה פי אלעיד
 ונרא איש יעמל וקד . . . אן תכון הנא חתי נערף אש יעמל אן אחוגנא לביע
 אל דאר ת. . אנת תאכד תמן אלנצף אלדי לנא אן . . . לנא . . . ס . . . פי
 דארך ואן לס אנת תביע²² דארך ו אן כאן תכלם פיהא אחר
 קלת אלדאר לי גיר אנת²³ ואלל[ה] מא וסל עלי אן

Verso :

- 1 אחר וחקה בה לא יכף לקד אן לחסין הון
 2 אנא לה ולא גא הו לענדי ולא סלם עלי יאכי אלחי ומרתך²⁴
 3 ואכתך יקריוך אלסלם ויקולו לך נחן כננא ננתצרו מנד

¹¹ وَفَت for אוקת

¹² وَجْه "face."

¹³ carelessly used as elsewhere in these fragments. עלי

¹⁴ The word looks like حشو, חשו "stuffing."

¹⁵ مَعَانِي, plural of مَعْنَى with suffix.

- 15 neither he nor anyone else [is a Jew]. And you have remarked in your letter: "If you say....."
- 16By Allah, my Brother!.....and they go after the year [is up]
- 17 and leave the house; and its abandonment is otherwise [than you might expect or wish], because the gentiles who.....
- 18 you do for them during this festival. That is to say: It...
- 19 and become enemies, and tear the house to pieces out of your hand, and you know.....
- 20 But if they had consulted me I should have said to them [that] they should remain until after the festival.
- 21 And you mentioned that he should pay to our neighbor 5 dinārs, and we had told him that he should pay it
- 22 to us at once. Perhaps we can buy for her a bed and...
- 23 for her at the time¹¹ of her wedding, as he said. And you know, my Brother, that
- 24 the bed is the most important thing¹² in the house. And it is not [easily] got nowadays, my Brother, because...
- 25 ten dinārs to him at the very least. And there remains for¹³ her
- 26 besides this: pigeons, the two pearls, the.....¹⁴ and the Egyptian [gold-pieces]—
- 27 about ten dinārs, not less than this, and.....
- 28 News has reached us that he.....his affairs¹⁵."
- And there arrived
- 29 the letter of his father.

Margin:

And he says that my brother has arrived this time contrary to every [other] time. And we do not know for what reason he turns away from my wife and not from my sister, and not from your wife. And we await his coming at the [time of the] festival, and we shall see what¹⁶ he will do. And.....that you be here until we know what¹⁶ he will do: whether he will compel us to sell the house.....you take the value of the half which belongs to us. If.....to us.....in your house. And if not, you sell your house.....if you speak about it after I have said: "The house is mine, not you[rs]—By Allah!....."

Verso:

- 1 other.....and his equity in it. Let him not be afraid because¹⁷ al-Ḥusein is here.....
- 2 I.....to him. But he did not come to my house, nor did he salute me, O my living Brother, and your wife
- 3 and your sister.....the salutation. And they say to you: We have been expecting it of you,

¹⁶ אַיִשׁ is modern colloquial Syrian Arabic, from **أَيُّ شَيْءٍ**.

¹⁷ לְקַדְּרָא is perhaps **لَقَدْرَان**.

- 4 וגהת ורא סת ולכנא תזכרתא ומן הדא אלאחרף מא נחן
 5 כלנא לא מתוחשין מן פרקתהא ומרת חסון ואולאדה
 6 אכתר לאן יקטע פיהם פיהא כתיר גיר אן לא
 7 מנדיל אלדי קלת להם קד עמלוה ודפעוה להא ואמא
 8 אבולחי הו יסאלך אן תאכד לה צפה מן שר השרים
 9 ודלך אן צהר עליה נשאף בדן וחבה ויבסין ורנה אלי
 10 קדמה והו האלך שי תאכד לה צפה ותוגההא לה
 11 ואמא אנא נערף אן מא יכרג הדא אלעיד אללא
 12 ועלינא דינרין דין ואן ראית רוחה מגלוב מא יגי
 13 אול איר אלא ואנא ענדך פאן וגדת מן ידפע לי בר ..
 14 ללגזיה אועיך בלא שי לאן אלמגלוב יעמל מא יריד ומא
 15 לאידיה אעלמתך . יאכי אלפצל ואכתך ואבו עלי ומר[תו]
 16 ואבי אלפרג ואבנה וואלד ו עליך אלסלם

There is some further writing on the right-hand margin; but only a word here and there can be made out.

Margin :

לאבי עמראן בן אבו

מן אכיתו אברהים קארי אל"ת" ...	[א] לי אבי וסירי אלעזיז עלי
אללה	אבי עמראן מסי קארי אללה
	אטאל אללה בקאה ואדאם עזה

¹⁸ He meant to write תזכרתא.

¹⁹ نشاف

4 behind a lady's back. But we remember¹⁸." And by these words [which
 I am writing], not we,
 5 any of us, will be desolated by the pain of separation from her; and the
 wife of Ḥassūn and his children
 6 still more! Because there is no estrangement between them and her;
 very much so, without.....
 7 handkerchief which I said to them they had made it and paid for it. And
 as for
 8 Abū al-Ḥayy, he asks you to take for him a description from the Song of
 Solomon.
 9 For there appeared upon him a drying up¹⁹ of the body, and a boil, and
 dry patches, and a.....
 10 of his foot. And he is perishing.....you take him a description [from the
 Song of Solomon], and send it to him²⁰.
 11 But we know that this festival will not pass without
 12 our being in debt two dinārs. And if I see him bankrupt (?), he will not
 come
 13 on the first of Iyyar, unless I am at your house. And if I could find
 someone who would pay me.....
 14 for the poll-tax, I would take care of you for nothing, because the bank-
 rupt does what he wishes and what comes
 15 to hand. And I have informed you...O my Brother most excellent, and
 your sister, and Abū 'Ulā, and his wife,
 16 and Abū al-Faraj, and his son, and the parents of.....And upon you
 be the Peace !

Margin :

To Abū 'Umrān Ibn Abū.....

To my Brother and Lord the Beloved, 'Ulā Abū 'Umrān Moses, Reader of
 the Law.....God lengthen his life, and continue his strength !
 From his brother, Abraham, Reader of the Law.....[If it please] God.

²⁰ I.e. as an aphrodisiac amulet? Skin diseases and their cure by bathing at Tiberias are mentioned by Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 166, and ref.

IV. LETTER

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A business letter in Arabic, in a clear, cursive Hebrew hand.

1 אלי מגלם סידנא אלרייס ירום הדו ויגדל כבדו ואלממלוך
 2 ינהי אן כאן אלמולא יום אן האסבני ואסתקר אן מסטור
 3 בן גראב מא לופאה עאקה ואגתמע בכ אלשיך אלמהרב
 4 פי מענאה וקלת לה אן אלמולא יקול ללדיאן אבו אלפרג
 5 אן יחט אלורקה מן אלצירפי באלמבלג ומדמא עאזה
 6 יכמלה מן תמן אלצנדרוס ואלטרטיר ואלאן פמא אסתופא
 7 אלרגל שיא ואלאמר אליום לה כמסה עשר יום ואלרגל פ
 8 פהו ואצל פי הדה אליומין ויבקא אלמסטור [מפ] תוח כמא הי
 9 עליה פחל לך מן אללה אן תחאסבני בשיא ולם יצל
 10 לי מסטורה פאשתהי[?] אן ינפצל הדה אלאמר אליום אן אגדה
 11 קבל מגי בן גראב וקד גא אברם אלבארה ודכר לי ען
 12 צלחתכם פי אלדאר אלצגירה וגרא ביני ובינה אקבח
 13 מא יכון מן מענאהא פלא תנפצלו לא פי צלחה
 14 ולא פי מכאנתה חתי ינפצל מעי פיהא פי מא יחצני
 15 פאנא מא אכד פי גראב[?] אקל מן כמסה עשר דינאר

Margin :

אלא אן כאן לה חכם או ביע צלחו וחדה פיערפני סידנא וחדה יתם ולא
 יעוק סידנא ען ממלוכה אלגואב ומא אקדר אצף לסידנא מא גרא ביננא
 אלבארה וחלם סידנא יסע ממלוכה

¹ On the use of مجلس in this sense, see Dozy, *Supplément, s.v.*; *Oriental. Lit. Zeitung*, 1906, p. 362. It is probable that the Hebrew מושב is merely a translation from the Arabic. See, further, Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, Index, p. 419.

² ראש = رئیس or رئیس. Probably purely a honorific title here. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 262, 266. ³ Read הדו.

⁴ المملوك. A term of servility very often used in letters. Cf. Brit. Mus. Or. 5542, No.

23 : אלממלוך אבן סעיד יקבל אלארץ בין ידי אלמולי אלשייך
 which ends : וישתחי אלממלוך אלהואב מן גיר ישער אחר ושלום

Many other instances could be cited. The Jews translated it into עבד. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 330, note 1.

⁵ יוֹמֶר = יום.

⁶ Read יחאסבני. Cf. line 9.

⁷ "document." مسطور

⁸ Punctuated according to al-Dhahabī's *Mushtabih*, (de Jong), p. 384.

[illegible]

IV. LETTER

A certain Ibn Ghurāb has borrowed money of the writer of the letter, and cannot repay it, although he has merchandise on hand. The addressee, an unnamed prominent man (ra'is), is now asked to assume the debt, take over the merchandise, and arrange matters with the judge, Abū al-Faraj, and the money-changer or banker, as he has promised to do. There has also been some trouble about a certain piece of real-estate. There seems to be no way of dating this letter.

- 1 To his Excellence¹, our Master, the Ra'is², may his glory³ be exalted and his honor extolled. The servant⁴ begs to say that
 2 if the Master intends⁵ to settle accounts with me⁶, it is certain that in regard to the account⁷ of
 3 Ibn Ghurāb⁸, there will be no difficulty in collecting it. The Sheikh al-Muharrab met with you [to consult]
 4 about his affair and you promised him that the Master would speak to the judge, Abū al-Faraj,
 5 that he [write] the document from the money-changer⁹ for the [entire] amount, and that whatsoever was wanting
 6 he would make good from the sale¹⁰ of the resin and the tartar¹¹. Now, the man has not paid
 7 any part of it. The matter has been going on now for fifteen days. The man
 8 is coming within the next two days. The account will be left open as it stands
 9 against him. It is permitted you by God that you settle with me in some manner. No account
 10 has come to me. I wish today that this affair be settled, that I may have¹² [the account]
 11 before Ibn Ghurāb comes. Now yesterday, Abram came and mentioned to me your
 12 agreement about the small dwelling. Between him and me there arose
 13 the worst kind of discussion. Do you not settle with him, either by agreement
 14 or by written document, until he has settled with me about it, in regard to the share that is to come to me.
 15 I shall not accept for¹³ Ghurāb(?) less than fifteen dinārs.

Margin :

But, if he has a judgment or has made a sale, do you make an agreement with him alone. In such a case, may my Master acquaint me of it. It is all right [to settle with him] alone(?). May my Master not withhold from his servant an answer. I am not able to describe to my Master what happened between us yesterday. May the kindness of our Master encompass his servant!

⁹ Or "banker."

¹⁰ Literally: "price."

¹¹ سندرؤس = צנדרוס.

¹² Literally: "find it."

¹³ في.

V. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Carefully written in half-square Hebrew characters, in fairly good mediæval Hebrew. The paper is torn and the writing illegible in many places.

On the *verso* there is an address, but it is illegible save for the words:

.....יקרת.....המעותר לשם [יעקב] בר יוסף החסיד

Also on the *verso*, but upside-down, in very faded script which appears to be older than that on the *recto*, are portions of verses from the Bible, as follows: Isaiah lxv, 8, 9, 13, 16-18, 20 (ירושלם for קרוש) 25; lxvi, 1, 2, 5, 7-14, 18-23. Judges xv, 15-19; xvi, 28. We cannot imagine their purpose.

At the top of the *recto* are a few scrawled Arabic letters of no apparent import.

This letter was written to a Gā'ōn Jacob Ben Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh, perhaps the Jacob Ben Joseph Ab-Bēth-Dīn who as rabbi signed documents at Fustāṭ in A.D. 1016 and 1018, and did the same at Aleppo in 1028. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 37, 150. The writer of the letter is an important person in Jerusalem. At the time when this Jacob was in Fustāṭ the chief dignitary in Jerusalem was Josiah Gā'ōn. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 71 ff. His letters are not unlike this in their opening words. The "glorious place" which collapsed was probably a synagogue; and the cause may have been the earthquake of A.D. 1016. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 72, 156.

Recto:

- 1 ל.....מות בשם צנופי עטרות [ח]בירי תורות מורי להורות זקני ...
- 2שם טוב לכתוב הוא כזק מר יעקב המעותר לשם בגאון יעקב
- 3 כל עומד [בתך] כמתו ויראענותו ישמרהו אל וינצרו ויעזרו ויהי בעזרו
- 4 ויחיהו יז. ורו בר יוסף החסיד נצי שלום אליך אהוב וחביב ורע...
- 5 מאדון השלום ומעיר השלום ומנתיבותיה ושלום גם ממני אוהבך נפש כנפש
- 6 חקתי נירים אלה בנחין להודיע בבא זק מר נתן שצ הנודע הזה ברבי
- 7 זכריה נע ובידו ספר פק[דונ]ות הגרי וחותריה יני ויתבע את שלמה בן כלף אלבוקי
- 8 עבור אשתו ואומרה אליו אין זה מענה גם לא ראהי לתבוע בו ואמר האיש

¹ I.e. Ha-Me'uttadh. Early in the eleventh century the Egyptian Jews broke away from the authority of their brethren in Palestine and established a religious and legal school (Yeshibhah) that went by this name "Ge'ōn Ya'qōb." See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 191.

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

V. LETTER

Apparently Jacob had left Jerusalem some time before, bearing a commission from Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī in Jerusalem to his wife in Fustāt. Solomon had given Jacob two gold-pieces with which to pay her way to Jerusalem. Evidently he expected trouble, for he gave to Jacob a statement of his possessions in his house at Fustāt and directions to take possession of these. The only response that came was another messenger, Nathan or Hibah by name, son of Zachariah, who arrived in Jerusalem with a protest from the wife that Solomon had no grounds for his action. Nathan next undertook to carry to the wife in Fustāt a letter of divorce, which he promised to deliver to her in the presence of a certain Abraham the Ḥazzān.

Nathan appears with all the documents and with Solomon's statement that it was in the house of the writer that Jacob had sworn to carry the original message to the wife. The writer is equally certain that nothing of the kind ever took place under his roof, nor had he heard of the affair at all. He now writes in great haste to Jacob and tells him that he is sending by a Spaniard, al-Azhar, a copy of the wife's protest, which is to be delivered to Abraham, the intended witness of the divorce proceedings. Incidentally it is said that a certain "glorious place" in Jerusalem has collapsed.

Recto:

- 1 To.....in the name of those who are enwrapped in turbans, Ḥābērs of doctrines, teachers of doctrines, elders.....
- 2a good name to write it is: Master Jacob, "The Appointed"¹ to be called by [the title] Ge'ōn Jacob!
- 3 Everyone who tastes of his wisdom and beholds (?).....his humility. May God keep him, and preserve him and assist him, and be his help,
- 4 and enliven him (?).....son of Joseph the Pious. Peace! Peace be upon you! Beloved and dear, and friend (?).
- 5 From the Lord of Peace and from the City of Peace, and from her paths! And peace also from me who love you as my own life!
- 6 I write these pages earnestly, to inform [you] of the arrival of Master Nathan, messenger of the congregation², known [in Arabic as] Hibah³, son of Rabbi
- 7 Zachariah, bringing an Arabic⁴ document of deposits and its seals. And it makes demands of Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī⁵
- 8 about his wife. And she says to him [in the document] "This [document of yours which you have sent me] is not a [proper] complaint, nor does it contain proof [justifying] a demand." And the man Solomon said:

¹ שליח צבור = שֶׁצִי

² Shortened from נתן אללה as נתן from נתנאל.

³ הנרי "of Hagar."

⁴ From Būḳ, the name of a river near Baghdad. See Yāḳūt, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 762; *Muschtarik*, p. 71.

9 שלמה כי שלחתי עם ר' יעקב המעותר שנים זהובים לשאת אותה בהם אם
10 תרצה ל[בוא] ואם לא תאבה נתתי בידו ספר זכרון בכל אשר יש אצלה
והוא

11 שלי מה שעשה בביתי כי מעשה ידיה שלי גם מה שקניתי לה אם תודה
12 תגבה ממ[נ]ה מאוחר שלה והשאר יהיה פרנסה לבתי ועד עתה לא בא
מאצלו

13 מכ[תב] ול[א] הודיע מה נעשה ויאמר האיש הזה מר הבה כי בביתי נשבעה
14 בפני זק[ני]ם מר שלמה בן אברהם בן עזרא וממוחמן בן יפת וזולתם כי לא
15 הויה אצלי דבר גם לא עשיתי בביתי דבר ואתה אחר מהם ועבר[ו]
ד[ברים] ...

16 אחרי כן בי לתת לה שנים ז[הו]בים .. ים ע ... מ ין
17 ויכתוב וערב עליו מר ור נתן כי לא יש[א] לה מאחרי שתין [יום כת]ובים
אלי

18 שם מע[נה] ... לם כי תביא הכתובה בפנ[ו]י ו[פנ]י ר' אברהם החזן ... תקרעה
19 בפניכם ו ... כך תקבל הגט ויכתב לשלמה זה שטר פיצוי אבל הוצאת
בתו

20 נפס[ה] שיתן לה שנים זהובים לשנה כל זמן שרצה אמה ועתה
21 אתתן לה השנים זהובים מאחרי שתקרעו השנים האחרים הם
22 [כ]פקדים אצל כנז מר שלמה החבר בר דויד ... עת והוא כתב ידיכם
23 [מ]קבל ... נשלח אותם במהרה בדיוקני ותמהתי ממך אז איך לא כתבתה
24 מא נהיה והנה הגט כרות אצל מר [ורב] הבת שין הוא יוליכנו אליה או
ישלחו

25 בי[ד] של[ות]ו כי הרשה ל[נו] לשלוח ש[ל]וחים עד להגיע לידה שרם
הודעתך

26 בזאת לתת לר' אב[ר]הם כבר נתתיה למר אוהר הספרדי
27 בר יונה [נע] ובטוח אני שנתנו לו והייתי מקוה לך לבו[א] בעצרת [ו]כן
לתשעה

⁶ שעשה.

⁷ מאוחר has no article; but that is not uncommon in our texts.

⁸ This passage was deleted. ⁹ וזולתם?

¹⁰ About eight illegible letters are written above the line here.

- 9 "I sent by Rabbi Jacob Ha-Me'uttadh¹ two gold-pieces, with which to bring her, if
 10 she were willing to come; and, if she did not desire [to come], I gave into his hand a document of memorandum as to all that was in her possession, namely:
 11 'Mine is that which she made⁶ in my house, for the work of her hands is mine as well as that which I bought for her. If she admits the claim,
 12 collect from her her overdue⁷ [debt], then the remainder shall be the support of my daughter.' But up to the present there has not come from him
 13 any letter nor has he let [me] know what has been done." And this man, our Master Hibah, says that in my house an oath was taken
 14 in the presence of elders, *our Master Solomon Ben Abraham Ben Ezra, and Memūhamān Ben Yapheth, and others*⁹. *But never*
 15 *did there happen in my presence anything [like this,] nor did I do in my house anything [like this,] and [that] you [Rabbi Jacob] were one of them. And things happened.....*
 16 *After this.....by me to give her two pieces of gold.....*
 17 *and he write.....And our Master Rabbi Nathan became surety for him that he would bring to her(?) after two days(?) documents thith-*
 18 *er [as a] complaint.....she should produce the [marriage?] document, in his presence and in the presence¹⁰ of Rabbi Abraham the Ḥazzān... ..and tear it up*
 19 *in your presence. And.....she should receive the letter of divorce.And [that] he would write for this Solomon a document of damages. But [as for] the expenses of his daughter*
 20 *herself(?), that he would give her two gold-pieces the year for as long as she wished.....her mother. And now*
 21 *I shall give her the two gold-pieces after she has torn it up.....the later years*
 22 *as a deposit with our Master Solomon the Ḥābēr, son of Rabbi David. And it is the writing of your hands*
 23 *accepting.....We are sending them in haste with a duplicate¹¹ [for return]. And I was astonished at you then that you did not write*
 24 *what was to happen. And behold [here is] the executed bill of divorce in the possession of our Master, Rabbi Hibah. He will take it to her or send it*
 25 *by the hand of his messenger, for he has authorised [us to send] messengers, so that it may reach her safely. I have acquainted you*
 26 *with this.....to give to Rabbi Abraham. I have already given it to our Master Azhar the Spaniard¹²,*
 27 *son of Rabbi Jonah, and I am confident that they have been given to him. And I have been hoping that you would come at the feast [of Weeks] and so also on the Ninth of*

¹¹ דיוקני generally means "picture."

¹² הספרדי.

28 באב ו[כן] בימות החגים והנה נתאחרת צוֹתִי שִׁמְתּוֹ לטובה ויקרב ההפֿלל
עמך

29 ב הו ואנחנו וכל יְנֵי שלום והמקום ההרור הבנוי עליו נפל ביום יז
לחרוש

30 א[ב] ו[ה] וא יום אחד בשעה העשירית ביום יהי רצון שיבנה בנין מקוים
ושלום.

31 ושלום חמודך ושלום כל גלויך ירבה נצח אחיך שלמה כֶּצַּ בִּרְיָהּ [י] נֶעַ

¹³ "My hearing of his situation for good has been delayed."

VI. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Paper $11\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Four pages of Hebrew in square Hebrew writing.

The orthography is poor, and many words and passages are omitted.

The variants are probably not worth noting; and the text has accordingly not been printed here. This fragment has been studied by Professor Gottheil only.

28 Ab, and so also at the [other] feast days. And behold I have had to
 wait for good news of it¹³. And may the.....with you be near!
 29And we and all.....¹⁴ are well. But the glorious¹⁵ place, which
 had been built upon, fell on the 17th of the month
 30 of Ab(?), and it was a Sunday, at the tenth hour of the day. May it be
 His pleasure to build a firm building! Greetings!
 31 And greetings [to] your son, and greetings [to] all your relatives!
 [God] prolong the life of your brother Solomon, son of Rabbi Yaḥyā (?)—
 [May] his rest [be in] Eden!

¹⁴ This abbreviation occurs in line 7 also. Does it mean "etc."?

¹⁵ Or "steep," or "spiral."

VI. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

From the *Halākhōth Gedhōlōth* of Simeon Ḳayyāra, a Babylonian rabbinical authority of the ninth century.

In the edition of Hildesheimer, *Halachoth Gedoloth nach dem Texte der Handschrift der Vaticana*, Berlin, 1888, this text covers p. 138, lines 9-20; line 30-p. 139, line 13; p. 140, lines 6-24.

VII. MEMORANDUM

Paper 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters, cursive and not easily read, since the writer has apparently written quickly and automatically, without looking at the resulting forms of the letters. The Arabic has a strong vernacular coloring. Some of the names have Maghrabī, or north African forms. A little Aramaic phraseology is introduced.

Certain witnesses, whose names are signed at the end in square characters, testify to their belief in the truth of Bin Asad's account of his transactions with Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bu al-Faraj and Ṣadaḡah Bin Jacob, his partner: all apparently Jews.

- 1 נקול נחן אלשהוד אלתאבתין כטוטנא אחר הרה אלמודע אן חצר
- 2 אלינא אלשיך אבו אלמ... [בן] מר ורב שמואל [כג] בן מר ורב יהודה נע
- 3 דידיע בן אסר וקאל לנא אעלמו אנני אנוס פי כלמא אדכל תחתה
- 4 לא[א]בו אלעלא בן בו אלפרג דידיע בן עיארָה לאנני כנת סלמת אלה ולצדקה
- 5 בן יעקוב דידיע בן אלקלעי שריכה אלף דינאר שרכה ביני ובינהם
- 6 עלי מא יקתציה אלשטר אלמכתתב עליהם ותוגהו אלי תגר אלאסכנדרה
- 7 חמאה אללה ואבצעו בעץ אלבצאעה ענד אלקאצי אלאתיר זין אלקצאת
- 8 ותצרפו פיהא פחצר מן אעלמני אנהם קד דכלו באידיהם פי אלמאל
- 9 ואכלוה פחצרת אלי תגר אלאסכנריה ואלתמסת מן אבו עלא בן בו אלפרג

¹ I.e. *الثابتين خطوطنا*, if one should seek to justify the expression grammatically.

² Cf. Hebrew מודע "mark" and Aramaic מודעא "declaration of protest."

³ Aramaic דידיע in mediaeval Hebrew is not followed by the preposition ב. Cf. the same phrase *infra*, ll. 4, 5.

⁴ בן here, and in ll. 4, 5 and 9 (?), is not Hebrew בן nor the genealogical form of ابن in names, but the Maghrabī (Tunisian, Algerian, Moroccan, Spanish) ابن = بن. Note also ll. 4, 9, for أبو. This is also a Maghrabī form. Both arise from the ultima-accent of these dialects. In ll. 4, 9 we have the combination בן בואלפרג ابن אסד. This has nothing to do with the tribe of Asad. It means "Son of a Lion" and is a play upon Gen. xlix, 9, and a substitute for "Jew" or "Judah," as in this case. Cf. the Western *Benari*, *Loewensohn*, *Loewe*, *Loew*, *Lowe*, *Lieuw*, *Loeb*, *Léon*, *Leo*, *Lion*, and variations. There is some confusion with לוֹי and לֵב. Hence *Herz*, *Leben*, etc.

⁵ אָנוס is a very violently emotional Hebrew expression, used of rape and highway robbery.

⁶ The expression אֲדַחַל תַּחְתֵּהּ or אֲדַחַל לֵה תַּחְתֵּהּ, "I pay in to him, to remain under his management."

[illegible]

VII. MEMORANDUM

It appears that Bin Asad loaned a large sum of money to Abū al-'Ulā and Ṣadaḳah Bin Jacob to invest at Alexandria, on terms that were stated in a document, and understood by Bin Asad to constitute a partnership. Some of the money was invested. Of the remainder a large part or all was either lost in speculation or stolen outright. Abū al-'Ulā asserted that some money had been lost, but that he was not liable for it, as he was merely an agent and not a partner. The matter was brought before a Muslim court, where Bin Asad was bullied by the Ḳāḍī and by his enemy, and confused with technicalities with which he is thoroughly disgusted. The court evidently decided against Bin Asad, and issued some document which put his case in a bad light. He goes to certain Jewish friends and tells his tale. He knows that he has lost the money: that is all. The fragment is the record of an indignation meeting held sometime in June of the year A.D. 1150.

- 1 We, the witnesses, whose signatures stand¹ at the end of this declaration², say that there appeared
- 2 before us the Sheikh Abū al....., son of our lord and master Samuel, son of our lord and master Judah,
- 3 who is known as³ Bin Asad⁴, and said to us: I have been robbed⁵ in respect to all that I intrusted for investment
- 4 to⁶ Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj, known as Bin 'Ayyāra(?), because I turned over to him⁷ and to Ṣadaḳah
- 5 Bin Jacob, known as Bin al-Ḳal'ī, his partner, a thousand dinārs⁸, as a partnership between me and them
- 6 according to what the document required which was drawn up⁹ concerning them. And they went to the city of Alexandria
- 7 —God defend it!—and invested some of the capital in the presence of the Ḳāḍī¹⁰, al-Athīr, Ornament of the Ḳāḍīs,
- 8 and they got control of it¹¹. And someone came and informed me that they had already gone into the property with their hands
- 9 and had eaten it up. And I went to the city of Alexandria¹² and I entreated Abū al-'Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj,

⁷ אלה for אל, as in Syrian vernacular *ilō*.

⁸ The dinār, according to the *Misbāḥ* of al-Faiyūmī (about A.D. 1333/4—we quote through Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*), was a gold coin weighing 71½ or 68½ grains of wheat, the same as the mithḳāl. The American five-dollar gold-piece weighs 129 grains at 900 fine.

⁹ אלמכתוב.

¹⁰ I.e. the judge.

¹¹ I.e. the thousand dinārs.

¹² Misspelled as before, but differently.

- 10 אלמדכור אלאלפ דינאר אלדי ענדה פדכר אנה אשתרי בצאעה ואן
 11 אלמאל קד אכסר גמלה ואדעא אנה מקארין לא שריך וקאל מא
 12 נתחאכס אלא כדיני גוים וחמל עלי אלקאצי אלאתיר זין אלמצאט
 13 ותקל עלי פי אבראה מן אלמאל ומן אלימין כדיני גוים וכאליהוד
 14 ומן מא זאד עלי פי אלמשתרי ופי אלבצאעה אלדי דפעהא לי ומא
 15 גבני פיה וקד געלת ענדכס אלעלם באנני אנוס פי גמיע מא
 16 מא אדכל לאבו אלעלא תחתה פאי אברי כתבתהא עלי כדיני
 17 גוים או כשריעה אליהוד וגמיע מא אדכל לה תחתה אנה שמואל
 18 בר יהודה אנה פי אנוס וקד עלמנא נחן אלשהוד צחת אלאנוסה
 19 וחקקנאהא וכל אברי אכתבה לה ולא יכון פיה שהאדת אלחכם
 20 אלנוה סופר בית דין כגק מר ורבנא נתן בכגק מר ור שמואל נע פהו
 21 בטאל וכאן דאלך יום אלגמעה אלכאמס ועשרין מן סיון אלמואפק רצפר
 22 שנת אלפא וארבעמאה ושתין ותרתינ לשטרות שריר ובריר וקיים
 23 ישועה בר שמרה נע שלה בר יכין נע נתן הכהן בר יוסף הכהן נע

¹³ ذکر in these texts means simply "to say."

¹⁴ أدعى perhaps for إبرأ.

¹⁵ A *مقارض* is an agent, intrusted with capital for business purposes, on the condition that the gain shall be divided between the agent and the investor, and that the loss, if any, shall fall upon the investor. See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, part 7, p. 2515.

¹⁶ He must have been a Jew, however; else why say this at all? Cf. also l. 13.

¹⁷ ثقل.

¹⁸ He was confused with technicalities.

¹⁹ גבני must be أجابني. The first ā is absorbed by mā, the second ā is shortened in the shut syllable of the vernacular form.

²⁰ إبرأ perhaps إبراء, though we find no instance.

²¹ Singular, and probably impersonal, or meaning his enemy.

²² פי is the colloquial *fī*, from *fiḥ*, from فيه.

²³ Cf. Aramaic אונסא "robbery," and אנוסא "robber."

- 10 the aforementioned, for the thousand dīnārs which he had. And he said¹³
 that he had bought goods, and that the
 11 property had been decreased by a certain amount. And he asserted¹⁴
 that he was [merely] an agent¹⁵, [and] not a partner. And he said:
 12 "We shall not litigate except according to the laws of the Gentiles¹⁶."
 And he urged the Qāḍī, al-Athīr, Ornament of the Qāḍīs;
 13 and he forced¹⁷ me to clear him concerning the property and the oath¹⁸—
 according to the laws of the Gentiles and according to the Jews—
 14 and about what had accrued to me through the transaction, and through
 the capital which he had paid me, and about what
 15 answer he had given me¹⁹ in [the matter]. And now I have informed you
 that I have been robbed in respect to all
 16 I intrusted to Abū al-'Ulā for investment: whatever be the acquittal²⁰
 which you²¹ [O Abū al-'Ulā] have written against me, according to the
 laws of
 17 the Gentiles or the canon law of the Jews. All that I intrusted to him
 for investment I, [the son of] Samuel
 18 Bar Judah, I, have been robbed of it²². And we, the witnesses, know that
 the robbery²³ is a fact.
 19 And we have verified it. And [as to] every acquittal²⁰ which he [Abū al-
 'Ulā] had written against him [Bin Asad]: there is no unobjectionable
 legal evidence in it.
 20 The scribe of the [Jewish] court, our lord and master Nathan, son of our
 lord and master Samuel—he is
 21 a worthless²⁴ fellow. And this occurred²⁵ on Friday, the twenty-fifth of
 Sivan, the equivalent to Šafar.
 22 The year [is] one thousand four hundred and sixty-two of [the Era of]
 Documents²⁶. [Be it] certain, clear and abiding²⁷!
 23 [Signed:] Joshua Bar Shemaryah, Shēlāh Bar Yakīn, Nathan ha-Kōhēn
 Bar Joseph ha-Kōhēn.

²⁴ Very nearly the modern colloquial sense of the word.

²⁵ I.e. the memorandum was written.

²⁶ The Seleucid Era, beginning October 1st, 312 B.C. It is called in these fragments the Era of Documents. The Jews continued to use this manner of dating almost exclusively until well into the eleventh century A.D. Then they began to use the Jewish Era, which starts with October 7th, 3761 B.C. Wislicenus, *Der Kalendar*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 74. Our fragment is dated some time in June, A.D. 1150.

²⁷ This line is in Aramaic.

VIII. LETTER

Paper $12\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

The five bits of writing are from the hands of three individuals. The longest, *recto* (a), is rather clearly written; though the language is bad and mixed with Hebrew, and the style vague and ornate. The next longest, *verso* (a), is crabbed and angular, as though from the hand of someone unaccustomed to the pen; but the language is good, and the style concise and to the point. *Recto* (b) is merely a false beginning of the same. *Verso* (a) dates itself and *recto* (b) on Monday, the eighth of Marḥeshwān, Seleucid Era, 1543, which is A.D. 1231. *Verso* (b) and (c) are in a cultivated but difficult cursive hand, which becomes worse as it proceeds. The language is very much better than usual in our texts. There are even pedantic nominal case-endings and certain orthographic peculiarities of the Arabic in its own alphabet which the writer no doubt was accustomed to use. We do not know who he was. The first of the two is dated Thursday, the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, Seleucid Era, 1543, which is three days later than *verso* (a). The second is not dated, but may be assumed to have been written at the expiration of the ten days from the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, or the twenty-first of that month.

Recto : (a)

יְהִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 תְּפַאֲרַת מֶרְנוּ וּרְבֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַדִּין הַחֹסֶם וְהַנִּבּוֹן
 יְהִי שְׁמוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד אֱלֹהֵינוּ כְּתוּבָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 לְתַקְבִּיל יְדֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְהַגְלִיָּה יְעֹז עֲלֵיהָ מֶה מְנִיתָהּ
 פְּלִלָּה יְעוּצָד וְלֹא יִשְׁגַּל לָךְ קֶלֶב וָאֵעֵלֶם אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֵן חֲצֹר אֱלֵינוּ עֲנֵד אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מְנַצֵּר
 מוֹצֵלָהּ וְטֹלֵב מִן אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲבוֹתָהּ שֶׁהָאֵדָה
 יְעַרְפָּהּ לֹה פִי חֲדִית אֲלֵדָר אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 פֶּאֶעֱתָרָף אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲבוֹתָהּ וְקֹאֵל אֱלֹהֵינוּ

¹ **أَعْلَمُ—كثيرة—تَقْبِيل**. The writer uses both the 1st and the 3rd person in speaking of himself. We have translated everywhere with the 1st person.

² A confusion of **مَا يَنْوِي** and **مَنْتِيَّه**.

³ **لَا يُشْغَلُ قَلْبُكَ** is quite a common idiom in our texts. **قَلْب** should have the article here.

⁴ The woman in question, not yet named. From lines 15, 16 we learn that she is the wife of the Sheikh Sarūr and sister of the wife of the Sheikh Manšūr.

⁵ Here, as in modern colloquial, the second object of a verb is indicated by the preposition : **شهادة يُعَرِّفُهَا لَهُ فِي**.

אמר ואלה המעשים אשר יעשה
 מן המעשר והתרומה והעומר

ועד למעלה ליוסף הדרה יורה
 הסודות ורמז לזה הדין החכם והנבון
 יהי שמו (עולם ואולם לעולם סוד לטוב
 לרבין ויהי לעולם והנה יש עליה וסוד
 כל זה יעזר ולא יסגל לך קרב ואולם לעולם
 אין חזק לי עד למעלה לטוב ועוד
 חזקתא ולבן לטוב אכזבא שהחדד
 ישפוט לה פי חדיק למד לעד כורה
 כמעלה לטוב אכזבא קל למעלה
 אשהד למעלה רמז אלה אע"פ שהד
 אין הרה לראי לדי אס לסלמא ועוד
 להלל וללל כיוצא לטוב ועליון הוד
 והי אחר (ועד) ואלה המעשים
 ואע"פ כי יעלה לי הדא ליום וליום (לחוד
 פיה אחר ולא טלח ומן אכזבא ועד
 לטוב סוד אכזבא שפחדאז כמעלה
 וכל סוד אע"פ לעולם דלך כש
 אכזבא כפזל לסלמא וסוד לטוב
 מעוד דד מעלה לטוב והנה פיה
 דאחר לטוב סוד ודבר לה אנה יטל
 יביעל אר ווסע דונא גוים וסוד
 כפזל ועד ד יורה ועד
 ואי מעלה וקראת עליה דל לי וסוד
 לי עד שיואל כאלה בשבועים
 וקראת ד כוכב באן יחזק לי פיה
 לי ענה ועד גויה וסוד והעל למעלה
 פיה יבדדס כאיט שאמז וסוד וסוד
 לברגוס וד לר למעלה חזק קרא כוס
 שיואל למעלה וסוד וסוד

VIII. LETTER

Recto (a) is a letter from one Abū al-Thaṇā to a judge, Rabbi Elijah, probably both in Ḳalyūb, just north of Cairo. He seeks with flattery to represent that his friend, Abū al-Manṣūr, of Ḳalyūb, the son of Abū al-Faraǧ, has been driven into exile and destitution because he was prevented from selling his house by a sister-in-law, Sutait, the daughter of Abraham, and her husband, Abū al-Sarūr, the son of Maʿānī. The house belongs to Manṣūr, and the other family have nothing to do with it. Abū al-Thaṇā sold the movable property at the request of Manṣūr's son. All the harmless facts are admitted, but the others are suppressed. Evidently Manṣūr's wife, Kifā', has died, and Manṣūr has tried to defraud his children by selling their estate; and has defrauded Sutait in some manner, possibly by the sale of the movable property. Abū al-Thaṇā is the agent of Manṣūr and not of his son. Manṣūr is not destitute; and probably would not have been evicted if he had not attempted the sale. We learn from *verso* (a) the other side of the story through the witness Tamīm, son of Joseph. Sutait and Kifā' were sisters and joint heirs to two estates. After the larger of the two had been reduced by confiscation, Sutait took the smaller as her own, and Kifā' the larger, which she willed to her children. *Verso* (a) tells us that Manṣūr was evicted, and made to pay damages to Sutait, which he could do in part only. *Verso* (c) states that the two parties agreed to a payment of the balance at convenience, without court-action, but with an added 20 per cent.

Recto : (a)

- 1 [I,] the slave, approach the Presence of the Beauty of the Dignity of the Crown of
- 2 Splendor of our Master and Rabbi, Elijah, the wise and intelligent Judge.
- 3 May his name endure forever! And I assure the Master that [I,] the Sheikh, many times
- 4 kiss¹ the hands and feet of the Master. My desire² oppresses me;
- 5 but may God reward you, and may it not perplex you³. And I inform the Master
- 6 that the Sheikh Manṣūr, her⁴ go-between, came to [me,] the slave,
- 7 and demanded of [me,] the Sheikh Abū Thaṇā, testimony
- 8 of which he might inform her⁴, touching⁵ the case⁶ of the estate⁷ in question⁸.
- 9 And [I,] the Sheikh Abū Thaṇā, made acknowledgment and said: "[I,] the slave,

⁶ حديث "négociation, conférence," or perhaps "autorité, juridiction," Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, vol. i, p. 258.

⁷ Cf. the long list of *dārs* in Lower Egypt, Ibn Duḳmāk, *Description de l'Égypte* (ed. Vollers, Cairo, 1893), pp. 56 ff. Ibn Duḳmāk died in 1406, a hundred and seventy-five years after the date of our text.

⁸ I.e. "mentioned." But the estate, like the woman in line 7, is still unmentioned. Evidently there has been discussion of the matter.

- 10 אשהד עלי יוערף רבנן אליה אני אשהד
 11 אן הרה אלדאר אלדי אכר אלסלטאן מנהא
 12 אלתלת ואלתלתין פי מלך אלשיך מנצור הזכר
 13 והי ארת לזוגתה מן ואלדתהא אלמתפיה⁹
 14 ואנהא פי מלכה אלי הרא אליום וליס לאחד
 15 פיהא ארת ולא טלב ואן אכתהא זוגת
 16 אלשיך סרור אכדת עוצהא דאר כאמלה
 17 וכדלך שהד אעלמת אלמולא דלך בעד
 18 אכצאצה באפצל אלסלאם וכאן אלשיך
 19 מנצור קד אשתכא לרבנן יהודה פי אל
 20 קאהרה אלשיך סרור ודכר לה אנה טלב
 21 יביע אלדאר וירפעה דינא גוים וגאב
 22 כתאב מן ענד ר' יהודה ומנעה דלך
 23 ואני מצית וקראתה עליה קאל לי מא
 24 לי ענדה שי ולא באטאלעה בשי ושלום
 25 ותוצי ולדה ר' ברכות באן יחרין לי פי ביע
 26 אלדי ענדה וענד גירה ולא יהמל אלאמר
 27 פיהם ידרהם באיש מא גאבו ויאכר דפתר
 28 אלתרגום וקד לזת אלגאליה ומא בקא בידנא
 29 שי ולא ללכאדם גיר אללה ואלמולא ושלום

Recto : (b), written after *recto* (a), but above it, by the same hand as *verso* (a):

אקול אנא תמים בר יוסף נע
 אן למא חצרנא יום אלאת[נין]

⁹ I.e. **علي** [أَنْ] **يُعَرَف**.

¹⁰ Kāmil, the Ayyubid, A.D. 1218–1238, at this time. But more likely an earlier ruler is meant.

¹¹ הזכור = הזכר.

¹² **مُتَوَقَّاة** for מתופיה.

¹³ I.e. the estate or the two-thirds remaining of it.

¹⁴ I.e. Manşūr

¹⁵ I.e. Sarūr.

¹⁶ דין אלגוים or דין הגוים דינא גוים.

¹⁷ **جَاب** The modern colloquial verb

¹⁸ I.e. the writ of Rabbi Judah, or the injunction of the Muslim judge, issued on the basis of the same.

10 testify—that our Rabbi Elijah may be informed⁹—I testify
 11 that this [is] the estate⁷ from which the Sultan¹⁰ took away
 12 a third ; and [that] the two-thirds [remaining] are under the control of
 the Sheikh Maṣṣūr, mentioned¹¹ ;
 13 and [that] it is an inheritance of his wife, from her deceased¹² mother ;
 14 and that it¹³ [has remained] under his control until this day ; and [that]
 no one [else] has
 15 any inheritance in it, nor any [right to make] demand ; and that her
 sister, the wife of
 16 the Sheikh Sarūr, took in place of it a complete estate.
 17 And thus I testified. [So now] I have informed the Master of this, after
 18 paying compliment to him with special salutations. And the Sheikh
 19 Maṣṣūr has already complained, to Rabbi Judah in
 20 Cairo, of the Sheikh Sarūr. And he¹⁴ told him that he had tried
 21 to sell the estate ; and he¹⁵ informed the gentile judge¹⁶ of it, and brought¹⁷
 22 a writ from Rabbi Judah, and enjoined him¹⁴ from [doing] this.
 23 And I went and read it¹⁸ to him¹⁴. He said to me [in reply] : ‘He¹⁵
 owes me
 24 nothing, and I have nothing to explain to him¹⁹. Adieu!’
 25 And his son²⁰, Rabbi Berākḥōth, was commissioned to urge²¹ me to sell
 26 [the movable effects] which he had in his possession and in the possession
 of others ; and the command
 27 in regard to them was not neglected ; [for I, the slave,] liquidated²² them
 for whatsoever²³ [price] they would bring²⁴. And [I, the slave,] was
 given a letter²⁵
 28 which said in substance²⁶ : ‘And I have fled into exile. And we have
 nothing left²⁷,
 29 nor has [our] servant either, save only God and [you,] the Master. Fare-
 well!’”

Recto : (b)

I, Tamīm Bar Joseph, say
 that after we had appeared on Mon[day]²⁸.....

¹⁹ أَطَاعَهُ plus the prefix ب of modern colloquial.

²⁰ وَلَد instead of ابْن.

²¹ יִחַרְצֵנִי is יִחַרְצֵנִי. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, vol. i, p. 271 : “exciter quelqu’un à s’ap-
 pliquer à.”

²² The כ has been changed to כ. Although we know of no instance of the kind, we should
 read יִדְרֹגוּ, “he made them to flow, give up their juice.”

²³ אֵי שִׁי is the modern vernacular *ēsh*, for אֵי שִׁי.

²⁴ We know of no other instance of this precise meaning. Cf. note 17.

²⁵ The Arabic word is used in the Hebrew sense.

²⁶ The Hebrew word is used in the Arabic sense.

²⁷ They had the cash proceeds of the sale of their effects.

²⁸ Tamīm began to write on the *recto* of the paper, and was interrupted at this point.
 He then wrote *verso* (a).

Verso: (a)

- 1 אקול אנא תמים בר יוסף נע
- 2 אן לתאמן יום אלאתנין אל
- 3 תאמן מן שחר מרחשון אתקמנ
- 4 לשמרות בעיר אלקארה
- 5 חצרת ענר סתית בנת אברהם
- 6 וסרור זוגהא בן מעאני
- 7 אשהדני עלי קולדא אנהא קד
- 8 כלית אלדאר לולאר אכתהא
- 9 כפא אלמתופיה רחמהא אללה
- 10 והי אלדי כוט בן סנדביסי אלדי
- 11 אכר אלסלטאן פיהא אלתלת
- 12 ותבקא מנהא אלתלתין והי
- 13 עויץ דאר אכדתהא היה
- 14 תמים בר יוסף נע

Verso: (b), upside down:

- 1 יום אלה אלחאדי עשר מן מרחשון קמג לשט
- 2 נפר אלקנין מן אבו אלמנצור אבן אבו אלפרג אלקלויבי
- 3 אן עליה לסתית בנת אברהים זוגת[?] בו אלסרור
- 4 אבן מעאני מאיה וסתין דרהמין קבצ^ה מנה
- 5 מאיה וי דראהם ובקי להא ענדה נ דרהם
- 6 ואמהלת עליה אלי י איאם מן הדא אלתאריך
- 7 ואנהם אבראו בעצהם

²⁹ Beginning Oct. 1st, 312 B.C. This date does fall on a Monday, according to Schram, *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 235, col. 7D, line 25. Our document was written in A.D. 1231.

³⁰ I.e. diminutive of the colloquial *sitt*, "lady," but we find only *سَيِّدَة* in the dictionaries.

³¹ Or "vacated"? The כ has a raphe to show that it stands for *خ*.

³² *ولاي* is the modern colloquial form of the plural.

³³ I.e. "my."

Verso: (a)

- 1 I, Tamīm Bar Joseph, say
 2 that on the eighth, Monday, the
 3 eighth of the month Marḥeshwān, 1543,
 4 [Era of] Documents²⁹, in the city of Cairo,
 5 I was present with Sutait³⁰ Bint Abraham,
 6 and Sarūr Ibn Maʿānī, her husband,
 7 [who] called me to witness her statement. Behold it was:
 8 "The estate was left³¹ to the children³² of her³³ sister³¹
 9 Kifā'³⁴, deceased^{13,35}—God have mercy on her!
 10 And it is [the estate] which.....Ibn Sandabīsī³⁶, from which
 11 the Sultan took a third.
 12 And there remain two-thirds of it; and it is
 13 the estate for which she took a substitute."
 14 [Signed:] Tamīm Bar Joseph.

Verso: (b)

- 1 Thursday, the eleventh of Marḥeshwān, 1543, [Era] of Documents³⁷,
 2 the property³⁸ passed from Abū al-Manṣūr Ibn Abū al-Faraj al-Ḳalyūbī³⁹.
 3 He owes Sutait Bint Abraham, wife of Bū⁴⁰ al-Sarūr
 4 Ibn Maʿānī, a hundred⁴¹ and sixty dirhams⁴¹. She received from him
 5 a hundred and ten dirhams; and there remained, of what he owed her,
 fifty dirhams.
 6 And she granted him a respite of ten days from this date.
 7 And they declared each other free [of further obligation].

³⁴ كفاء "similar," to the parent.

³⁵ This tells us why there was trouble in the first place. The wife of Manṣūr had died; and the wife's sister wished to prevent Manṣūr from defrauding his children by selling the house for his own enrichment.

³⁶ I.e. from Sandabis, a village in the Ḳalyūb district. Cf. Ibn Duḡmāk, *op. cit.*, v, 49; Ibn Ḥauḳal (de Goeje), p. 93, and the other authors cited by de Goeje, *ad loc.*

³⁷ The numeral אַתְּקַמֶּנֶּ is abbreviated to קַמֶּנֶּ, and שְׁמֵרוֹת to שֵׁט. This is the same year as *verso* (a), and probably also as *verso* (b).

³⁸ قִיָּיָן is "property" or "income."

³⁹ I.e. from Ḳalyūb, just north of Cairo.

⁴⁰ The north African form of Abū. Cf. No. XIII, note 32.

⁴¹ The exact Arabic orthography: اِفْتَكُوا, يَقُولُوا, دَرَهْمًا, دَرَهْمًا, مَانِه.

Verso: (c)

- 1 ולם יבק בינהם אלא צראף תלתימה ענדהם
 2 מדינין עלי נ דרהמא והם יקולוא
 3 מא נערף ש עליהא ואתפק אנ מתי
 4 אפתכוא כאן אלמבלג אלדי יפתכוא
 5 בינהם נצפין באלסויה ובקי בינהם מחאכמה
 6 [ע]לי סתין דרהמא

42 تَلِيْمَة.

43 I.e. Sutait and Sarūr agreed to regard the remaining fifty dirhams as a debt of honor, never to be mentioned again between them; and the two parties were reconciled, and settled their case out of court. The ש is modern colloquial: *mā na'rafsh*, from مَا نَعْرِفُ شَيْئًا "We do not know."

Verso : (c)

- 1 And there remained between them nothing but to accomplish a recon-
 ciliation⁴² among them,
 2 making a debt of [the] 50 dirhams⁴¹, and saying
 3 "We know nothing about them⁴³." And he agreed that, when
 4 they were paid⁴¹, the sum which would be paid
 5 [would be, by tacit agreement] between them⁴⁴, two equal parts. So there
 remained, [by tacit agreement] between them, a judiciable claim⁴⁵
 6 amounting to sixty dirhams⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ بِمُتَّحِرٍ seems to mean idiomatically "by agreement"

⁴⁵ مُحَاكِمَةٌ.

⁴⁶ I.e. ten dirhams extra for the privilege of private settlement by reconciliation?

IX. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{3}{4} \times 20\frac{1}{2}$ inches, made up of two sheets pasted together.

This long strip is completely covered with writing. The top, margin and bottom, originally left for the sake of appearance, were afterwards filled with postscripts; just as the margins of Oriental printed books are filled out with other material, for good measure, "pressed down and running over." Unfortunately twenty-three lines have been mutilated by the removal of one corner.

The writing is in cursive Hebrew characters, quite legible on the whole.

The language is Arabic, without any admixture of Hebrew or Aramaic, at times elegant, but in general colloquial, with strange constructions and strange meanings of ordinary words.

Recto :

בְּשֵׁרָה ¹

2 כתאבי אליך יא אבי ואלעזיז עלי וענדי אמאל אללה בקאך ואראם

3 עוזך ועלאך ומן חסן אלתופיק לא אכלאך גמע אללה ביננא

4 עלי אסר חאל במנה וכפי לטפה אן שא אללה : ואלדי תריד עלמה

5 מן וקת אן רכלת אלי אלהנר לם יגינא מן ענדך אחר ובקינא

6 משגולין אלקלב עליך מן בחר אלהנר אלי אן וצל אלחג עלי

7 אלדי יקאל לה אבן אלקודירי פאשתמענא בה ואכברנא

8 בגמיע מא גרא עליך וכיף כאן מות כאלך רחמה

9 אללה וכיף כאן וצולך מן אלהנר וחמרנא אללה תעאלי

10 עלי סלאמתך ועלי אנתמאעך בכאלך קבל מותה

11 ואכברנא אנך קאסית מע כאלך שרה אן עצימה

12 פי חאל מרצה ועז עלינא דאלך כתרי אלדי לם יכון אחר

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ or بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ, an imitation of the Muslim بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ and close to the original from which the latter was taken.

² عَزِيز means both "mighty" and "dear," according to the preposition used; hence this clever play upon the word.

³ أَسْرَ الْحَال, but he omits the article.

⁴ بِمَنِّهِ.

⁵ The modern colloquial sense of يَقِي?

⁶ For الْقَزْدَارِي. Cf. al-Asyūfi, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. Veth, pp. ۲۰۷ and 185. الْقَزْدَار is a district of India.

[illegible]

IX. LETTER

It appears that a certain Joseph, who lives in Fuṣṭāṭ with many relatives, is writing to a brother(?), who lives in Aden, South Arabia, with a few other persons from the Fuṣṭāṭ community. The father of these two brothers is the patriarchal head of the family. The brother in Aden is a merchant, and has made two trips to India, particularly to Colombo in Ceylon, on one of which he was captured by pirates and ransomed by his relatives at home. A maternal uncle, who went from Fuṣṭāṭ to India on business undertaken by the father, has died there; and there is great uncertainty about his will, especially because the wife of this uncle is a grasping creature and has also had an illegitimate child in his absence. A similar case is mentioned in the letter.

There is no address. The letter was to be intrusted to a friend for discreet delivery.

There is no date. But a certain ḥazzān Abū 'l-Bayyān, is mentioned in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 242, vol. ii, p. 308, which is a letter considered by Mann to belong to about 1150.

Recto :

- 1 In the name of the Compassionate¹!
- 2 My letter to you, O my Brother, mightier² than I and dear² to me. May
God lengthen your life and prolong
- 3 your strength and your dignity, and not deprive you of the beauty of
success! May God reunite us
- 4 under the most happy³ circumstances, in His grace⁴ and the abundance
of His kindness: if it please God! And what you would like to know
[is that]
- 5 from the time when you entered India no one came to us from you, and
we became⁵
- 6 troubled in regard to you on account of the Indian Ocean until the Hājj
'Alī arrived,
- 7 who is called Ibn al-Ḳuzḍirī⁶. And we enquired⁷ of him; and he in-
formed us
- 8 of all that had befallen you, and the manner of your [maternal] uncle's
death—God have mercy on him!—
- 9 and how you arrived [back] from India. And we praised God the Exalted
- 10 for your safety, and your being able to reach your uncle before his death.
- 11 And he told us that you had endured great hardships⁸ with your uncle
- 12 while he was sick; and that was very⁹ difficult for us [to bear,] namely¹⁰:
[that] no one of us

¹ The VIII form of سَمِع usually means "listened to."

² أَنْ used as a relative with indefinite antecedent.

³ כְּתִיר for כְּתִירִי.

¹⁰ The vernacular use of الذی as a conjunction. Cf. Spiro, *Arabic-English Vocabulary*, Cairo, 1895, p. 17 *sub voce* البی.

- 13 מנא ענדרך יעאונך פימא גרא עליך פי תעבך פימא
 14 יכין אמר כאלך ולאבן אללה תעאלי יגעלך כלף אן באקי
 15 ויפתח אבואב אלכיר עלי ידיך אן שא אללה ובאן וצול
 16 אבן אלקוזדירי בעד אלפור בכסה איאם וכאן למא אעלמנא
 17 במות כאלך כתמנא אמרה ומא ראח ואלרך מן ענדה
 18 אלי אן חלפה אנה לא ידבר דלך אלאמר אלי אחד וערפנא
 19 באמראת כאלך ומא הי תעמל בנא וחלפנא אנה לא יערפנא
 20 בשי מן גמיע מא גרא תם וכתמנא דלך אלאמר ולם
 21 נערף אחד בשי חתי ולא ולדתך לם נערפה במות כאלך וכאן
 22 קד דבר אנך עאות אלי אלהנד אלי כלמבו פרזענא אלי
 23 אלהאל אלאול פי אלאנתטאר פבקינא מרת שחר ונצף
 24 אלי אן וצל אבן אלזיאת אלדי יסכן ענד מסיר אבן גארה
 25 פאנמענא בה ואכברנא ברנועך אלי עדן וכיף
 26 אנפתח עליכם אלמרכב ענד אלקין וכיף דכל עליכם
 27 מרכב אלשהן וכיף כאן וצולכם אלי עדן סלאמין פלא
 28 עדמנא פצל אללה ומא ענד אללה אלא בלכיר וצאק
 29 צדרנא כתיר אלדי לם יכון לך מעה כתאב יטמנא
 30 פבקינא משגולין אלקלב אלי אן וצל יוסף אבן אלהפצי
 31 אכר לילת ראמצאן לילת עיד אלמסלין פאשתמענא
 32 בה ואכברנא בגמיע מא גרא עליך וכיף כאן רגועך אלי
 33 עדן ואן לם נצחח לה^{חדית} אלי אן דפע לנא כתאבך אלכרים
 34 וקרינאה פפהמנא מא פיה פאטמאנת ולולא מא נבצר

¹¹ יַעֲלֵךְ is the colloquial *yij'állak* for *يَجْعَلُ لَكَ*.

¹² פור is the Arabic form of the Hebrew word. Cf. line 46 and al-Kalkāshandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, II, 427, where the printed edition has فوز however.

¹³ רח in the colloquial sense.

¹⁴ Cf. the bottom of *verso*.

¹⁵ The writer intended וחלפנא.

¹⁶ Read נערפהא and ואלרתך.

¹⁷ עאות is a confusion between *عَوْتُ* and *عَائِز* of the colloquial.

¹⁸ Perhaps for *إِجَارَة*, "protection."

- 13 was at your side to help you in what befell you when you were worn out with
 14 the concerns of your uncle's case. But God the Exalted will make for you¹¹ a lasting change⁸
 15 and open the gates of fortune to your hands: if it please God!
 16 Now Ibn al-Ḳuzdirī arrived five days after Pūrim¹². And, after he had told us
 17 of the death of your uncle, we made a secret of his case. And your father did not leave¹³ his presence
 18 until he had made him swear that he would not mention this matter to anyone; and we informed him
 19 about the wife¹⁴ of your uncle, and what she was doing to us. And we made him swear¹⁵ that he would not tell her
 20 anything of all that had happened. Then we made a secret of that matter. And
 21 we shall not tell anyone about anything: indeed not even your wife¹⁶ shall we inform of the death of your uncle.
 22 And [al-Ḳuzdirī] had said that you wanted¹⁷ [to go] to India, to Colombo; so, we returned to
 23 [our] former state of suspense; and remained [so] for the space of a month and a half:
 24 until Ibn al-Zaiyāt arrived, who lives at the house of Musayyar Ibn Jārah¹⁸.
 25 Then we met together with him, and he told us of your return to Aden, and how
 26 the ship was captured when [you were] attacked, and how there came to you
 27 a cargo ship, and how you arrived at Aden, safe and sound. So we did not
 28 lack the grace of God: and with God there is no [possibility of anything] but [affairs going] well. But we
 29 were much distressed because¹⁹ there was no letter of yours with him, reassuring us¹⁹.
 30 So, we remained anxious until Joseph Ibn al-Ḥafṣī arrived
 31 late on the night of Ramaḍān, the night of the festival of the Muslims²⁰. And we met together with
 32 him. And he told us of all that had befallen you, and how you returned to
 33 Aden. But we did not believe [his] story²¹ until he had handed us your good letter.
 34 And we read²² it, and understood what was in it. So, I was at peace. But if we had not seen

¹⁹ יטמנא is colloquial *يُطْمِنُنَا* for classical *يُطْمِنُنَا*, which, however, does not exist, as the classical verb is always intransitive and cannot take an object. Cf. the classical form and sense in lines 34, 35 ²⁰ Read *בסלמין*.

²¹ חדות (which needs the article) is not classical, but probably equivalent to the modern colloquial *ḥaddūta*, plural *ḥawādīt*, "fairy story."

²² קרינא is the colloquial form of *قَرَأْنَا*.

- 35 כתאבך למא כאן יטמאן לנא קלב
 36 אן אכר מע אלנאכורה אלדי מעה^פ
 37 אלחסארה וכאן מעה כתא[ב]
 38 מוסי פאכרנאה מנה פוצ[ל]
 39 בדלך ויא אכי לולא מא וצל
 40 אלצרף והו ידכר מות כאלך
 41 מא כאן אחד יצל מן ענדרך
 42 ונחלפה אנה לא ידכר דלך
 43 קרי פי סוק אלצרף כסנדריר נס
 44 לא ואלדתך פי ציק צורה אן^{וואלד}
 45 אכתר מא קדרת אנה וסירי
 46 אלפור אלי בער אלפסח בע
 47 מעאני למא כאן יסמעו מ

Verso :

- 1 ענדרך וענדר אכתה ואן סירי^פ
 2 ובחק אלכתאן אלדי דפעה להא
 3 אלתרסים חתי תחטור לה גי
 4 מרת אנמרחת עלי בעין א
 5 ענדרהא אלתרסים וימתל על
 6 מא^פ כ[א]ן מן אם אלישיך אבן
 7 במות כאלך מלבת אן תגוי
 8 פאן סירי חלף אנהא לא תד[כר]
 9 בלה חתי לא תכשף לנא עליה
 10 קד אעלמתך בהוכא קד קאל לנא
 11 כאלך מא מאת חתי כתב לך וציה ובקינא קד ננתמ^פר
 12 כסבתה תבעתהא פי ורקח חתי נערף כיף כאנת וציתה
 13 לך פאללה אללה אן מא אנפדת לנא נסכת אלוצית פלא^{כאן}
 14 תעמל שגל אלי אן תנפד לנא כתאב בגמיע כאן ולא

²³ מַעָא perhaps for מַעָא.

²⁴ Persian ناخته. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 648.

²⁵ א erased and ב written.

35 your letter, why should [our] heart have been tranquil?.....
 36 that he took along²³ the ship's captain²⁴ who [had been] with him.....
 37 envy²⁵. And he had the letter.....
 38 Moses. So we received it from him, and there arrived.....
 39 about that. And, O my brother, if he had not arrived.....[Market of]
 40 Exchange²⁶. And it mentions the death of your uncle.....
 41 no one arrived from [the place] where you [were]
 42 and we made him swear not to mention that [matter].....
 43 was read²⁷ in the Market of Exchange²⁸.....
 44 not [your mother]²⁹ in his anxiety, that your mother.....
 45 as much as I was able and my master³⁰.....
 46 Pūrīm¹² until after the Passover.....
 47 affairs³¹ after they had heard.....

Verso:

1 with you and his sister; and that my Master.....
 2 and about the linen which he delivered to her.....
 3 the specification?³² until.....she forbade him.....
 4 while it was being relegated to some one of.....
 5 with her the specification?³²; and he described.....
 6 what was the matter with the mother of the Sheikh Ibn.....
 7 about the death of your uncle, she tried to come.....
 8 And the Master³⁰ swore that she would not mention.....
 9 all of it, so that she should not enlighten us about it.....
 10 she had informed you of.....(?) He said to us.....
 11 your uncle did not die until he had written for you a testament. And we
 continued to await [a statement of]
 12 his estate³³, sent by you, on paper, so that we might know how the will
 stood in relation
 13 to you. But Allah! Allah! If you do not have executed for us a copy of
 the will, then do not
 14 do any business until you have executed for us a document with every-
 thing there is³⁴. And do not

²⁶ Supplied from line 43.

²⁷ قُرِئَ.

²⁸ For this *Sūḥ al-Ṣarf* see Ibn Duḫmāk, *op. cit.*, v, p. 38 *et alibi*; and Casanova, *Essai de Reconstruction Topographique de la Ville d'al-Fouṣṭāṭ ou Misr*, tome I, in *Mémoires par les membres de l'Institut Français du Caire*, vol. xxxv, Index.

²⁹ ואלדתך has been deleted.

³⁰ He is the one referred to as סִדִּי "the master" in lines 8, 16, and elsewhere.

³¹ Cf. No. IV, line 4.

³² "description"? "placing under guard"? "stamping"?

³³ This is a strange meaning for كَسْبَةٌ.

³⁴ I.e. جميع ما كان.

- 15 ילחקך פי דאלך תואניא פהדא אכבר וציתנא ענדך
 16 ואנפדת תלוס סירי ותקול לה אנך אנפדת אלנצארי
 17 וגיבני בללה יא אבני אן ענדי מן גמיע מא קאל לך שי
 18 ולאכן יא אבני מא חלך תערף אלנצארי ולעבה כיף
 19 כאן וקף פי וצת אלסוק ולעב מע כל מן קאם ואעלם יא
 20 יא אכי אן כל כיר אן יצל אליך אלא אנה מן ענד אללה תעלי
 21 וברעא ואלרף אליך לאן אלאנס ואלגן ינאמו אלא סירי מא
 22 ינאם ממא הו ידעו לך טול אלליל ואלנהאר ולו ערפת תואב
 23 אן ידכל עליך פי אלכתב אליך ותנפדהם לנא למא כנת תגעל
 24 לך שגל גיר כתבך אלכתב ובלכאין אלכתאב אלדי וצל לנא
 25 מע אלנאכודה ואנפדת ואנת תקול לסירך אדא וצל שבל
 26 אלדולה תאכר מנה אלדי ארסלת לך מע גמיע אלחנאר פלא
 27 פרח אן רכל עלי קלבה וקד סמענא אן וצל גמיע אלדיוס
 28 אלי עדאבסלאמין פטמן קלבך עלי דלך ואן ואלדתך
 29 תסאל ענדך וקאלת לך יא אבני כמא טמנתני בכתאבך פאללה
 30 תעאלי יטמנך מן כל הם וגם ואן ברכאת אבן כאלתי קד רכל
 31 ביתה עלי בנת כאלתה סת נסים רחמדה אללה פאלעאקבה
 32 לך אן שא אללה וקד סמענא אנך אשתרית גלאם אללה תעלי
 33 יעדפך ברכתה ויגעלה עליך אברך אלכעוב וירוקך מתלה
 34 כתיר ובללה יא אכי אן אלמסלין יתקצאו ענדך אכתר מנא
 35 חתי יום אן אלנאכודה מחר אלנאסאן וראק מן אודקא

35 [אל]תואני is certainly תואניא ; accusative for nominative.

36 וְצִיָּה is both "testament" and "command"; hence the play upon the word.

37 ואַגְבִּי for וגִּיבִנִי.

38 I.e. either he "made fools of," or "trifled with," or "gambled with."

39 He intended to write אֵלֶּי.....לִי.....אֵלֶּי.

40 תּוֹאֲבָה is apparently תּוֹאֲבָה, but without the feminine ending.

41 Cf. al-Dhahabi, *Mizān al-I'tidāl* (Cairo, 1325), i, 440.

42 This jumble contains perhaps : ענר , בסלאם , ענר .

43 Humorous? Although the text says "bought a slave," the context refers to a son.

44 The same correction of the text as in *recto*, l. 31. But here we have a reference to pirates, and the ransoming of captive Jews. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 87 ff. Muslims captured Christians and Jews, and Christians captured Muslims (and Jews?). The price of ransom was 33½ dinārs, the dinār being worth about \$2.50 in gold, with a purchasing power of about \$7.50 at that time.

- 15 let carelessness³⁵ overtake you in that [matter]; for this is our supreme
 "will"³⁶ in regard to you.
- 16 And you sent [a letter] complaining [to] the Master³⁰ and saying to him
 that you had sent to al-Anṣārī.
- 17 But answer me³⁷, by Allah, my Son: Have I anything of all [the property]
 he told you of?
- 18 But, my Son, aren't you free to recognize al-Anṣārī and his little game:
 how
- 19 he stood in the market-place and played³⁸ with anyone who happened to
 be standing there? And know,
- 20 O my Brother, no good-fortune is sent³⁹ to you except that it comes from
 God the Exalted.
- 21 And about your father's³⁰ calling out to you—for men and demons may
 sleep, but the Master³⁰ does not
- 22 sleep, because he keeps calling to you, all night and all day long. And
 if you only knew shame⁴⁰:
- 23 that it might enter into you through the letters to you! And you send
 [letters] to us about having
- 24 other business to do than writing letters: and especially the letter which
 reached us
- 25 with the ship's captain. And you sent word, and you said to your
 Master³⁰: "When Shbl al-Daulah⁴¹
- 26 arrives get from him what I have sent to you as well as to the other
 merchants." And he did not
- 27 rejoice. It made a deep impression on him. And we heard that all the
 dignitaries arrived
- 28 at.....⁴² But calm yourself¹⁹. Your mother
- 29 asked after you and said to you: "O my Son, just as you have relieved¹⁹
 me with your letter, so may God
- 30 the Exalted relieve¹⁹ you from every care." And also Barakāt the son
 of my [maternal] aunt, has taken possession of
- 31 his house with the daughter of his [maternal] aunt, Sitt Nissīm—God
 have mercy upon her!—[as bride]. But you have
- 32 offspring—if it please God. We have heard that you have bought⁴³ a
 boy. May God the Exalted
- 33 teach you what a blessing he is, and make him the most blessed of
 honors, and grant you many more
- 34 like him! And, by Allah, my Brother, the Muslims⁴⁴ exacted⁴⁵ for you[r
 ransom still] more from us;
- 35 until one day⁴⁶ the ship's captain set free⁴⁷ a rich man, [one] of the friends⁴⁸

⁴⁵ יתקצאו is vernacular *yitkaḏu* for classical *يَقْتَضُوا*. For the sense see Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 362. With this verb *مِنْ* denotes the payer of the ransom, and *عَنْ* the ransomed person.

⁴⁶ יום אן. Cf. note 8.

⁴⁷ מחר is *مُحَرَّر*, the participle for the imperfect.

⁴⁸ אודקא is *أَصْدَقَاء*, with *ز* for *ص*.

- 36 סירי פתקצא מנה ענך וגאב לנא כתאבך ונחן לים ענדנא
 37 כבר חתי גאבה אדרגל אלוראק גואה אללה ענא כיר אלדי
 38 נעלם ומא יערף אחד איש אנפדנא לך מן אלכתב מא קדרת
 39 תערפנא אן וצל לך שי אלכתב כדא יכוננו אלנאס יא אכי
 40 מא בקי עלינא שי אלא ארדי לס תערפנא כיף כאנת וצית
 41 כאלך נאכרה אלדי לס תערפני אן כאן וצל לך שי מן אלכתב
 42 קראת עליך אלסלאם ועלי מן תחוטה ענאיתך אלסלאם
 43 וואלדך יקריך אלסלאם וואלתך תקריך אלסלאם וכאתב הדא
 44 אלכתאב אכוך יוסף וממלוכך ושאכר תפצלך נקריך אלסלאם

Margin of verso :

וכואתך יקרוך | אלסלאם וכלאתך | יקרוך אלסלאם | וואלאר עמך | אלשיך
 אבו | אלחסן ואלשיך | אבו אלפרג | וואלאדה יקרוך | אלסלאם וממוך | אבן
 אליאם יקרוך | אלסלאם וקר | סרני אלדי אנפרת | לה רחלה פאללה | תעאלי
 יוצלה | אליה וירג ענך | כמא פרנת | ענה וענא לאנה | מזאח מציק עליה |
 ואלחזאן | ביאן | ויוסף | אלמגרבי ומנצור | ואכזה אולאר כלף יקרוך אלסלאם |
 ואלשיך עטאלה | וולדה אלשיך אבו | אלחסן יקרוך אלסלאם | ואלקאצי
 וגלמאנה | יקרוך אלסלאם | וקר תוזג בבנת | פתום אלמצרי וקר | רוק מנהא
 צבי | ותסאל עלי אלשיך | אבו אלסרור | ותערפה אן | אכזה יוסף | אלגריד
 יסאל ענה | אלדי אתואלד | פי יד שחר וא | בבצרה | אנ... טאי |
 ..ן אחבעה | ארבעת עשר | שחר אללה | תעאלי ילקיהא | פעלהא וילקי[הא] |
 מא עמלת | בכאל | .. | יכתב | .. | באקי ויגמע | ביננא ובינד |
 קרב אן שא | אללה ותסאל ען | מעאני | .. | ותערפה אן | אהלה פי עאפיה |
 ואן וצלת כתבה || אלי אהלה | ועז עלינא | מא גרא | עליה אללה | תעאלי
 כלף | עליה ויגמע | שמלה וכלף | באהלה | ביאן מע | ..

⁴⁹ I.e. the ship's captain.

⁵⁰ פתקצא a half vernacular form. Cf. *فَاتَّقِصْ* and *fa itkaḏa*, and note 45.

⁵¹ I.e. the rich man.

⁵² The recipient of the letter is actually or supposedly in captivity somewhere. Cf. lines 24-36.

⁵³ The forms *ēsh* and *waṣallāksh* are vernacular.

- 36 of the Master³⁰, and he⁴⁹ demanded⁵⁰ from him⁵¹ [an additional ransom]
for you⁵². And he⁵¹ brought your letter to us. And we did not have
any
37 news until the rich man brought it—May God requite him with good
from us, [now] that¹⁰ we
38 know. And no one knows what⁵³ we sent you in [the way of] letters.
As far as you are able,
39 inform us whether the letters reached you⁵³. [Well!] That is how people
are, my Brother⁵⁴!
40 Nothing remains for us [to say] except that¹⁰ you did not inform us how
it was [with] the testament
41 of your uncle. We object to your¹⁰ not informing me as to whether any
of the letters reached you.
42 I send you greeting, and to [all] whom your grace and favor protect,
[I send] greeting.
43 And your father sends you greeting; and your mother sends you greeting;
and the writer of this
44 letter, your brother and slave, Joseph, who is grateful for your favor: we
send you greeting!

Margin of verso:

And your sisters send you greeting; and your [maternal] aunts send you greeting; and the sons of your [paternal] uncle, the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan and the Sheikh Abū al-Faraj, and his children, send you greeting; and your father-in-law⁵⁵ Ibn Elias, sends you greeting. I am glad that you wrote to him [while on his] journey. And God the Exalted will cause [your letter] to reach him; and it will comfort you just as you comforted him and us. For he is ruined, he is in straits⁵⁶. And the Ḥazzān Bayyān, and Joseph al-Maghribī, and Maṣṣūr, and his brother, the children of Khalaf, send you greeting. And the Sheikh 'Aṭallāh⁵⁷ and his son¹⁶, the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan, send you greeting. And the Kadi and his [male] slaves send you greeting. He has married the daughter of Futūḥ the Egyptian; and has been blessed [with] a boy from her. And you make inquiry in behalf of the Sheikh Abū al-Sarūr: [Please] inform him that his brother, Joseph al-Jadīd, asks after [the child] which was born⁵⁸ on the 14th of the month... ..fourteenth of the month. May God the Exalted requite her [with] her deed, and requite her [with] what she wrought!.....write.....remainder... ..and bring us together soon, if it please God. And you ask after the affairs of.....: [Please] inform him that his family are in health, and that his letters have reached his family. But we were grieved by what happened to him. May God the Exalted make up to him [what he lost], and set his affairs in order, and make up to him by his family [what he lost].....

⁵⁴ Exactly the German expression of resignation: "So sind die Menschen!"

⁵⁵ Read חמוך. ⁵⁶ مَجَاحٌ مُضَيَّقٌ. ⁵⁷ I.e. عَطَاءُ اللَّهِ.

⁵⁸ חתולאד is the colloquial form *itwalad*, of the VIII stem. Cf. note 50.

Bottom of verso :

- 1 וגיר דלך אן יום אן סאפר כאלי וורענאה פי אלכליג ותאנא עלי וקאל...
 2 אנהא האמל פערדינא לה תסעה אשרה ולם תלד שי פרנענא
 3 עדינא תסעה אשרהא אן אכרא אלי אן ולדת צבי פקאמת קיאמת
 4 אלנאם כלהא חתי אלמסלין קאלו מא סמענא מן עמל קט מתל
 5 הרה אליהודיה מא תסתאהל עלי הרה אלמא גיר אלחריק ואנהם
 6 בעין אליהוד אלוס מתל אבן מוסי מנצור ומנצור אבן אלכבית
 7 פאנהם תעצבו מעהא חתי גמעו מתל עשרה מן אליהוד חתי
 8 כתנוה ולם יחצר תם לא דיאן ולא חזאן ולם יבארכו עליה

Margin of recto :

וגיר דלך אן | למא סמעת | ואלדתך מות | כאלך רחמה | אללה
 פאנאה | חמלת עלי | קלבהא מן גהת | ומן שדת אן | גראת עליך | פי
 אלבחר תאני | מרה | ובקית מרת | מרצהא לס | ידכל פמהא | טעאם ולא
 שראב אלי אן | וצל כתאבך | אלבריס פכמא | אבצרת פי | כתאבך פכאן |
 פִּי^ל אלעאפיה | ואלפרג פכמא | פרגת עלינא | ככתאבך | פאללה תעאלי |
 יפרג לך פי | גרבתך וילקיד | אלכיר ויוקף לך | מא נדעילך | פי כל וקת |
 וגיר דלך אן | וצל לנא כתאב | מע יוסף אבן | אלחפצי ואנת | תקול לנא
 אוקפו | אם אבו אלסרור | עלי אלכתאב | ואדפעו להא | תמן אלקמח | אלדי
 וצל מע | אלקאצי אלוג⁹ | אבן אלסכאוי⁸ | ומא תמנאת | גיר אנהא⁷ | יצל⁶
 להא שי פמא | להא⁵ שגל גיר | מטאלבתנא | פי כל סאעה | וכאן מן קבל
 דלך | מן קבל מות | כאלי דפעת | סידי אלי אלדיאן | וטאלבתה בשי | וכאן

⁵⁹ Read אשרה.

⁶⁰ In order to constitute a *lam tulidshe*, with the negative *-she* of modern vernacular.

⁶¹ *אֲשֶׁרָא* is for *אֲשֶׁרָא* though we should have the genitive, not the accusative.
 Cf. note 8.

⁶² Read מסלמין.

⁶³ I.e. "corrupt." This must be an epithet, not an acceptable name.

⁶⁴ In order to constitute a *מִנְיָן* or quorum.

⁶⁵ Is this the child referred to above as born "on the 14th of the month"?

⁶⁶ Read פאנהא.

⁶⁷ Read נהתך.

⁶⁸ שרת אן. Cf. note 8.

⁶⁹ The words *ואן* and *לם* have been written and deleted.

Bottom of verso :

- 1 And another matter : On the day⁴⁶ when my [maternal] uncle went on a journey and we took leave of him at the canal, he took me aside and said :
- 2 "She is with child." And we let nine months⁵⁹ go by for it [to happen]; but she did not bear⁶⁰. And again
- 3 we let another nine months⁶¹ go by, until she bore a boy. And there was an uprising of
- 4 all the people, until [even] the Muslims⁶² said : "We never in our lives heard of a deed like [the deed of]
- 5 this Jewess ! She deserves for this thing nothing less than burning !" And
- 6 some of the Jews—Byzantine Jews, such as Maṣṣūr Ibn Moses, and Maṣṣūr Ibn al-Khabīth⁶³—
- 7 defended her cause, until they had collected something like ten of the Jews⁶⁴, in order to
- 8 circumcise [the child]. But neither dayyān nor ḥazzān was present. And they did not [therefore] say the [necessary] blessings over him⁶⁵.

Margin of recto :

And another matter : After your mother had heard [of] the death of your [maternal] uncle—God have mercy on him !—she⁶⁶ was heavy-hearted because of you⁶⁷ and some hardship⁶⁸ which you might have encountered at sea the second time⁶⁹. And while she was sick [from this worry] neither food nor drink entered her mouth, until your good letter reached her. And just as she looked at it—your letter—and felt well and happy [again], and just as you relieved us by your letter⁷⁰: so may God the Exalted relieve you in your trial⁷¹, and make good-fortune meet you and stay with you. [That is] what we pray for you always.

And another matter : Joseph Ibn al-Hafṣi brought us a letter [from you⁷²;] "Keep the mother of Abū al-Sarūr from writing; and pay her the price of the grain which arrived with the Kadi.....Ibn al-S...., and what she expects, without her hearing that anything has come to her." She has come to have no other occupation than begging of us continually. And before that—before the death of my [maternal] uncle—she brought the Master³⁰ before the dayyān⁷³ and made a demand upon him. And at the time my [maternal] uncle went on the journey⁷⁴—God have mercy on him⁷⁵—he recommended to the Master⁸⁰ that he buy for her a dīnār's

⁷⁰ The word ועלי has been written and deleted.

⁷¹ תגרבתיך.

⁷² This person's letter and visit are spoken of in lines 30–35. A Joseph Ibn Ṣadōk, grandson of Ibn Ḥafṣ, of the house of Ḥafṣ, is mentioned in a genealogy in Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, 318, l. 15.

⁷³ Apparently دافع means "to summon to court."

⁷⁴ Mentioned at the bottom of the *verso*.

⁷⁵ He did not return from this journey, but died.

וקת אן | סאפר כאלי רחמה אללה | אוצא סירי | באנה ישתרי | להא
 בדינאר | כתאן וחטב וזית || פאשתרא להא | דלך ומא ברח | אלי ורא להא |
 אלמחאר פמחר | להא אלכתאן וזון | ענה כרא אלמחר | כלה חתי לא יכלי |
 שי באיש תחתנ | ען קליל חתי | דפעתה אלי אלדיאן | וקאלת לה נמלב |
 מנדך רחל זוגי | אלדי כלצה |

⁷⁶ Cf. note 44.

⁷⁷ Colloquial *ila wa-*.

⁷⁸ Colloquial *da*.

⁷⁹ This root occurs three times here (and perhaps in *verso*, l. 35), and is plainly written **محر**; but there is no root **محر** nor **محر** nor **محر** in Arabic. The root **محر** is the only one that will give sense. The **ر** presents no difficulty; but the **ח** can be accounted for only by the assumption of an actual dialectical difference.

X. A LEAF FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Paper $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ inches.

Hebrew in half-square Hebrew characters, partly vocalized, and not always correctly so.

The many abbreviations and omissions, in the manner of No. XLII, suggest that this may be merely a memorandum of prayers.

worth⁷⁶ of linen, and fuel-wood and olive oil. And he bought her that. And he continued [to give her things] until⁷⁷ he gave⁷⁸ her the dowry⁷⁹. And he gave her the linen for a dowry; and he paid⁸⁰ from [the sale of] it the cost⁸¹ of the dowry⁸², all of it; so that nothing remained that she could have [even] the slightest need of. And then she brought him before the dayyān; and she said to him: "We want from him [the profits of] my husband's journey, which he completed."

⁸⁰ Dozy, *Supplément*.

⁸¹ كراء is usually "rent."

⁸² She married again.

X. A LEAF FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Like No. XLVI, this fragment has to do with the prayers for the Day of Atonement.

Recto begins with the words :

כִּי הִכַּל הָבַל אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ הָלֹא כָּל הַנִּסְתָּרוֹת etc.

Verso begins with the words :

אַרְבַּע מֵיִתּוֹת בְּיַת דִּין חֵנֶק etc.

XI. BILL OF DIVORCE

Paper $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

In half-square Hebrew characters, but in the Aramaic language, so often used in Jewish documents.

There are some places where the writing has been effaced or the paper destroyed ; but the complete text can be recovered from the context.

Recto :

- 1 בתלתא בשבא דהוא עשרין ותשע [יו]מין ליר[ח]
- 2 תמוז דשנת אלפא וחמש מאה ותשעין שנין לשמ[רות]
- 3 למנינא דרגילנא לממני ביה הכא בפסטאט מצרים
- 4 דעל נהר נילוס מותבה איך אנא ל דיבה
- 5 דממדינת מצרים וכל שום אחרן וחניכא דאית לי
- 6 ולאבהתי ולאטרי ולאטריהון די אבהתי צבית בר[עות]
- 7 נפשי כד לא אניסנא ופטריט ושבקית ו[תר]וכי[ת]
- 8 יתיכי ליכי אנתי סת אלדאר בת יצחק דמעיר בנהא[?]
- 9 אלעסל וכל שום אחרן וחניכה דאית ליכי ולאבהתיכי
- 10 ולאטריכי ולאטריהון דאבהתיכי די הוית אנתתי
- 11 מקדמת דנא וכדן פטריט ושבקית ותרוכית
- 12 יתיכי ליכי די תהוויין רשאה ושלטאה בנפשיכי
- 13 למחק להתנסבא לכל גבר די תצביין ואינש
- 14 לא ימחה בידיכי מן שמי מן יומא דנן ולעלם והרי

¹ Such bills of divorce could be drawn up in other languages than Aramaic, though this seems to have been the prevailing language since 500 B.C. A number of such bills have been found in the Genizah. See e.g. Moïse Schwab in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lvi, p. 128 ; and especially the excellent treatise of Ludwig Blau, *Die jüdische Ehescheidung und der jüdische Scheiderbrief*, Budapest, 1911 (two facsimiles are given there from the Elkan Adler collection). See another facsimile in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. iv, p. 624. Though the general expressions were fixed from of old, extra words could be added in order to give greater importance to that which was being said. The present bill is as long as any that we have seen of this early period.

² A.D. 1278.

³ We take **מצרים** = **مصر** = Fustât.

⁴ In none of the bills of divorce that we have seen is the precaution in regard to the name taken to this length. The usual expression is simply : **וכל שום דאית לי**.

⁵ Notice the redundancy of the expression **יתיכי ליכי** which, however, is found elsewhere. Cf. Blau, *loc. cit.*, part ii, p. 99.

⁶ **סת אלדאר** would mean "lady of the house." See Steinschneider, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xi, p. 330.

XI. BILL OF DIVORCE¹

A bill of divorce given to Sitt al-Dār, daughter of Isaac, of the village of Benha al-ʿAsal, by her husband—whose name may have been Shilyā—in the city of Fuṣṭāṭ.

It is dated 1590 of the Era of Documents, i.e. A.D. 1278.

On the *verso* the witnesses have testified to having handed the bill of divorce to the woman in question.

Recto:

- 1 On the third day of the week, [Tuesday], which is the twenty-ninth day of the month
- 2 Tammūz, of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety of [the Era of] Documents²,
- 3 according to the method of dating by which we are accustomed to count here in Fuṣṭāṭ of Egypt,
- 4 which is situate upon the river Nile, I¹¹
- 5 of the city of Fuṣṭāṭ³—and any other name or surname that I may possess,
- 6 my father may possess, my place of dwelling or the places of dwelling of my fathers may possess⁴—I desire,
- 7 in perfect free-will, and without being compelled: to free thee, to let thee go, and to cause thee⁵ to depart—
- 8 thee my wife, Sitt al-Dār⁶, daughter of Isaac, of the city of Benha⁷
- 9 al-ʿAsal—or any other name or surname that thou mayest possess, that thy fathers may possess,
- 10 or thy place of dwelling, or the places of dwelling of thy fathers⁸ [may give thee], thou who wert my wife
- 11 prior to this. In such manner I release thee, I send thee forth, and I let
- 12 thee depart, that thou mayest be free and have the right, of thine own will,
- 13 to go and marry any man thou wilt.
- 14 No one can oppose thee in my name⁹, from this day onward and forever. Behold!

¹ Yākūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, vol. i, p. 748, gives both pronunciations, Binha and Banha. The word אלעסל was added to it, because the best honey in Egypt came from the place. See, also, Ibn Duḡmāk, *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. v, p. 59. It occurs in other Genizah documents; see Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, vol. ii, general index, *s.v.*

² See above, line 6. The meaning seems to be that he wishes to cover any name that she or he may have coming from family possessions in other places.

³ I.e. "saying that thou bearest my name." The addition of מן שמי is not normal; but see Blau, *loc. cit.*, part ii, p. 100.

- ¹⁵ את מותרת לכל אדם ודן דיהוי ליכי מני ספר
¹⁶ תרובין וגט פטורין ואגרת שבוקין כדת משה וישראל
¹⁷ עמנואל ביר' וחיאל נבתיא ש[ל]ה בר עמרם נע

Verso :

- ¹ מטא גיטא הדין ליד המתגרשת די בגויה מיד שליא
² המגרש בתורת גירושין גמורין לקמן אנן עידי מסירה
³ עמנואל ביר' וחיאל נבתיא שלה בר עמרם נע

¹⁰ Here, and on *verso*, the letters נבתיא follow this name. In one document (Taylor-Schechter, 13. J6, No. 11) we find them after the very name which has been signed to our own : עימנואל ביר' וחיאל נבתיא. See other examples of this combination of letters in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 236. It is not uncommon. Evidently it contains the first letters of some pious wish.

- 15 Thou art free to every man. It is proper that thou shouldst receive from
me a document
16 of freedom, a bill of divorce, and a letter of dismissal, according to the
law of Moses and of Israel.
17 [Witnesses] Immanuel, son of Rabbi Yehiël¹⁰.
Shēlāh Bar 'Amram.

Verso :

- 1 This bill of divorce has reached the divorcee, who is among her people,
from the hand of Shilyā¹¹,
2 the divorcer, according to the law of complete divorce. Below we the
witnesses of the delivery [sign our names]:
3 Immanuel, son of Rabbi Yehiël Shēlāh Bar 'Amram.

¹¹ If this reading is correct, one may restore *recto*, line 4 thus :

אנא שליח שליח די בה

and translate: "I,.....Shilyā..., who [live] in the city of Cairo," etc.

XII. LETTER

Paper $8 \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters. Cf. III, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV.

Written with a scratchy pen and gummy ink in a degenerate cursive Hebrew hand of which the similar letters are usually entirely undifferentiated.

Recto :

- 1 כתאבי יא סירי ומולאי אטאל אללה בקאה ואראם סלאמתה וסעארתה
אן אלמסתקר
2 עז חאל סלאמה ועאפיה אללאמר ללה רב אלעלמין לו כלון מן שבט כתמה
ללה
3 עלינא ועליך בכיר אעלמך יא מולאי אן תקדמת מני אליך עדה כתב ארגו
4 אנאבך עליהא וקר וצל כתאבך עלי יד סירי אבי אברה[י]ם אסמאעיל קפוח
5 ותם וצל איצא מן בעדה גואב אכר עלי יד לפיג ואנת תדכר פיה ביע
6 דהב לאעדמה [ו]צלח אלהנאניר שאכריה תסוא מן יז לי יח נון ובקית
7 יא מולאי נעתנג לדאלך נחב מן מולאי אן יגתהד ויביע וישתרי מא
8 דכרת לה פי אלכתאב לא יוכד מנהא חאנה וישר לכל מא יבק לו ומא
9 נוציה פי חדית אלודע ויכון לרלחיניצי ומא דכרתה פי חדית אל
10 מתאע נחב מן מולאי אן ישק עלי רוחה פיה ויביע ובללה יא מולאי מא
11 נתחלין פיה עלי מא דכר שריכי ולאכן מא יאכר ואחר אלא מא קצי

¹ Many letters begin with the simple word כתאבי. Cf. MS. Paris Consistoire VII. E. 18 : כתאבי אטאל אללה ; Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5542, No. 10 : כתאבי יא שיכי אטאל אללה. Sometimes אלי is added ; MS. Paris VII. E. 12, No. 31 : כתאבי אלי סירי ; cf. Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5542, No. 21. Sometimes the verb is used, in the first person or in the third person ; e.g. Taylor-Schechter, 5. 7, No. 6 : כתבת אטאל אללה ; Bodl. MS. Hebr. c. 28, No. 55 ; Taylor-Schechter, 10. J4, No. 1 : כתב עבר מולאי. Again, the verb is left to be understood ; e.g. MS. Paris VII. E. 24. For the forms of address in Genizah letters, see Worman in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, pp. 721 ff., and Goldziher, in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lv, pp. 54 ff.

² So the words should perhaps be rendered in this letter, instead of by "Lord and Master."

³ In our texts there is a habit of using interchangeably the second and third persons, when speaking to the addressee ; and the singular and plural of the first person, when the writer speaks of himself. In our translation we use one form only in each case.

⁴ This formula gives some trouble because of its indefiniteness.

⁵ Cf. the Koran, ch. i, verse 1.

⁶ جَوَاب here in the modern colloquial sense.

[illegible]

XII LETTER

The Arabic is as slovenly as the script, and shows strong colloquial tendencies. The style is abbreviated and technical, perhaps intentionally cryptic. As he goes on the writer becomes more and more incoherent.

A letter from an unknown man to one whose name we read uncertainly as Abū Yahyā Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm, urging him to attend to certain business matters the nature of which is not clear.

Recto :

- ¹ [This is] my letter¹, Sir², [to you]. May God lengthen your³ life and prolong your³ health and happiness! Behold [in me] the inquirer⁴
- ² after the state of your health and fortunes. God, the Lord of the Worlds⁵, disposes [our affairs]. [There are now] 7 [days] remaining of [the month of] Shebhāt. May God complete it
- ³ auspiciously for you and us! I am informing you, Sir, a number of letters have gone forward from me to you. I hope [to receive]
- ⁴ your answer to them. Your letter arrived by the hand of master Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il Kfwh (?).
- ⁵ And then arrived, after it, another letter⁶, by the hand of Lfyj (?). And you say in it: "Sell
- ⁶ gold to whoever needs it most. Send him the dīnārs as a favor⁷, [the dīnār] equalling from 17 to 18 [and a] half [dirhams]⁸." And I am still⁹ in need¹⁰ of [doing] this,
- ⁷ Sir. I desire of you, Sir, that you display some zeal, and sell and buy what
- ⁸ I told you to in the letter: not selecting some [one] thing¹¹ from it, but strictly doing everything that remains for you [to do], and what
- ⁹ I directed you [to do] in the matter¹² of the deposit. And may it become.....And what I said in the matter¹² of the
- ¹⁰ [personal] effects. I desire of [you], Sir, that you discipline yourself in this matter, and sell. And by Allah, Sir,
- ¹¹ we are not going to save ourselves in [the business] according to what my partner says. But let no one take anything except what was decided upon

⁷ شاكِرية usually means "wages"; etymologically "thankfulness."

⁸ Reading لِي for لِي, and نِصْف for نِصْف, the colloquial form of نِصْف. In the ninth and tenth centuries the dīnār was worth about 15 dirhams. See Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, 1890, p. 43.

⁹ Or in the modern colloquial sense: "I have come to be."

¹⁰ נֶחְתָּךְ is perhaps ni'ḥaj, for نَحْتَا.

¹¹ Vernacular sense.

¹² חרית can hardly have any other meaning here. Cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. i, p. 258, col. 2, line 4 from below.

- 12 ... דכרתה פי כאב מן כאן קד סלמת רה ולמא כאן לה ענדי וקד
 13 ... ה ארטאל ולא נקץ סער וכ לעשרה והו יא מולאי פיה טול רוח
 14 אן עצים ומא נדרי כף כרג ראק ובכא ומא אצף לך מא קאיי¹³
 15 ... ל ענד ומא קבצת ל בקית לא ווהטווט ומא יצח פי כלהא
 16 אלא נחו ג דנאניר ולמשרך אללאן הו פי תרוגה והו לסעה מא וצל
 17 ואן מ¹⁴א] תונה שי אלי אעדא פלם אנעלה פי לורק לו וגהו לכלפון
 18 יביעה לך פמא אחתאנ יא מולאי אדא וצל אבו עטר בן ספראוי
 19 תקבין מנה יו דינאר אל¹⁵ הי גאך מתאע אלדי כאנת לסירי
 20 אל . . נין תרפערהא לה פתעלמני פיהא פי כתא[ב]ך אלאן קלבי
 21 פיהא משגול אלא אן יצל כתאבך ולם לאי . ל . ומא
 22 כאנת מן האנה אוהב לי פיהא ותכון עני אבי אסחק ברהון¹⁶
 23 באפצל סלאם ואן כתבת לי אבו ציד¹⁷ תקרי עני סירי
 24 אבי אסחק ברהון סלאם ואבי עאללחסון סלאם ותשתרי
 25 לי דסתין ורק גיאר וקד כתבת לכלפון ישתרי לך כבסא

Address :

- 1 לסירי מולאי אבי יח[יה] נתנא[ל] בן נסים נע בן מחבה מצרוף בן מוסי נע
 2 אטאל אללה עזה ואדאם סלאמתה ונעמתה אלפסטאט אן שללה

¹³ Reading כתאב.

¹⁴ Reading מא or ממא.

¹⁵ ? صار for סער

¹⁶ אל¹⁵ is אללאן.

¹⁷ [ال]ترجى.

¹⁸ Colloquial, *lissa*.

¹²I said in [the] letter¹³ about what¹⁴ I have turned over to him and
 what I had of his [property]. And
¹³5 rotls, and not less, amount to¹⁵ 26 for ten. And it [requires]
 patience,
¹⁴ great [patience]. And we do not know how it went.....and weeping.
 And I cannot describe to you what.....
¹⁵and for all of it not [less]
¹⁶ than about 3 dinārs would be proper. And the man who has taken [me]
 as partner is at present¹⁶ hoped for¹⁷ but has not yet¹⁸ arrived.
¹⁷ But he is not¹⁹ going to [our] enemies. But I did not put it on paper.
 If they had only gone to Ḥalfōn
¹⁸ to sell it for you. And what I require of you, Sir, [is that] when Abū
 'Iṭr Ibn Sufrāwī arrives,
¹⁹ you take from him 16 dinārs.....[personal] effects which belonged to
 master
²⁰you deliver them to him and then notify me of it in your letter. At
 present I am
²¹ worried²⁰ about them—until your letter arrives ;.....and I
²² had nothing of my own remaining among them. And let there be from
 me [to]²¹ Abū Isaac Brhōn(?)
²³ the most excellent²² of greetings! And I have written to Abū Ṣa'īd(?).
 Give my greetings [to]²¹ master
²⁴ Abū Isaac Brhōn(?) and Abū al-Ḥusain(?). And buy
²⁵ for me two books of paper of the best quality. I have written to Ḥalfōn
 to buy the pickles(?)²³.

Address :

To master Abū Yaḥyā(?) Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm Ibn Maḥabbah(?) Maṣrūf(?) Ibn Moses. May God prolong his vigor and continue his health and prosperity! Fuṣṭāṭ—if it please God!

¹⁹ Colloquial suffix, -*sh*.

²⁰ ^כ was written and deleted.

²¹ ^ב omitted.

²² The scribe corrected the first two or three letters, and we can read neither the original nor the correction. He may have intended ^כ ^פ ^נ.

²³ ^כ ^ב ^ס, plural of ^כ ^ב ^ס?

XIII. LIST OF TAX-PAYERS

A long strip of paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters.

Recto :

	1 ארבאקי מן פסקה אלכראג
	דפע
דינר	2 אלשייך אבו אל כיר אלבמארין
דינר	3 אלשייך אבו סדור פרח
דינר	4 אלשייך אבו סעד אבן אלסוכרי
דינר ונצף	5 אבן עמה
דינרין	6 אלשייך אבו מנצור אבן חיים
נצף דינר	7 אלשייך אבו אל אעלא אבן אלבהורי
נצף דינר	8 אלשייך אבו אל אעלא אבן שעיא
דינר	9 אלשייך אבו מנצור אלדוסתרי
נצף דינר	10 אלכאתב אלדי דאר למאט
רבע דינר	11 אבן אלתרמדי
נצף דינר	12 אלשייך אבו אלחסן סבאע
רבע דינר	13 אבן אבוה
רבע דינר	14 אבו סעד אבן אלקאבסי
רבע דינר	15 אבן אלרפא
רבע דינר	16 ולד אסחק אבו פרח
תמן דינר	17 צהר נסים
רבע דינר	18 אבן עמראן אלטביב

¹ "Good-luck."

² We omit the vowels when they are not known.

³ "Lotus tree."

⁴ "Joy."

⁵ "Good-luck."

⁶ "Sugary." Cf. *Zuckermann, Suessmann, Suesskind*, etc.

⁷ Or Ibn 'Ammō.

⁸ Hebrew, "Life."

⁹ "Lion-like." Cf. No. VII, note 4; or else **יְהוֹרִי** "of victories." The words "he has paid" were written above this name, then blotted out.

¹⁰ Perhaps **יְשַׁעְיָהוּ** from **יְשַׁעְיָהוּ** Isaiah.

XIII. LIST OF TAX-PAYERS

The title and contents indicate that we have here a register of tax-payers in some Jewish community, probably in Fustāt, with the amounts that they have paid—not the balance to be paid (as l. 1 states)—of the fiscal tax.

Interest centers in the personal names. One must remember, however, that these people were often no more conscious of the meaning and implication of their names than we ourselves are of ours. There are Arab-Muslim, Jewish and double names, epithets and descriptive identifications. The Jewish names already include well-known modern motifs.

Recto :

1 The Remainder of the Government Poll-Tax :

Paid by

2 The Sheikh Abū al-Khair ¹ al-Bmārīn ²	— a dinār.
3 The Sheikh Abū Sudūr ³ Farah ⁴	— a dinār.
4 The Sheikh Abū Sa'd ⁵ Ibn al-Sūkkarī ⁶	— a dinār.
5 His cousin ⁷	— a dinār and a half.
6 The Sheikh Abū Maṣṣūr Ibn Ḥayyīm ⁸	— two dinārs.
7 The Sheikh Abū al-A'lā Ibn al-Bahwarī ⁹	— a half dinār.
8 The Sheikh Abū al-A'lā Ibn Sha'yā ¹⁰	— a half dinār.
9 The Sheikh Abū Maṣṣūr, the registrar ¹¹	— a dinār.
10 The Scribe who [lives in the] house of Lmāt	— a half dinār.
11 Ibn al-Tirmidhī ¹²	— a quarter dinār.
12 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Sibā' ¹³	— a half dinār.
13 Ibn Abūh ¹⁴	— a quarter dinār.
14 Abū Sa'd ⁵ Ibn al-Ḳābisī	— a quarter dinār.
15 Ibn al-Rifā' ¹⁵	— a quarter dinār.
16 Walad Isaac ¹⁶ Abū Farah ⁴	— a quarter dinār.
17 The brother-in-law ¹⁷ of Nissīm ¹⁸	— an eighth dinār.
18 Ibn 'Umrān ¹⁹ , the physician	— a quarter dinār.

¹¹ Perhaps **الدستوري**.

¹² From Tirmidh.

¹³ "Lion." Cf. note 9.

¹⁴ Vernacular for **ابن أبيه** and meaning "Son of his (unknown) father," i.e. "illegitimate," or "son of his (well-known) father"; like Hebrew **בן־אביו**.

¹⁵ "Harmony."

¹⁶ "Progeny of Isaac."

¹⁷ Or "son-in-law."

¹⁸ "Wonders."

¹⁹ "Prosperity."

תמן דינר	19 אבן סהל אלשראבי
תמן דינר	20 אבן מפרג אלזאבזארי
נצף דינר	21 אבן בושיד
נצף דינר	22 אלשייך אבו אלחסן צדקה
נצף דינר	23 אלשייך אבו זכרי אבן סוגמאר
נצף דינר	24 אבו אלפרג נסים ²¹
רבע דינר	25 אבו זכרי אבן מנשה
נצף דינר	26 אבו נצר אבן אלמקונן ושריכה
תמן דינר	27 מוסי אבן אלמגאני
תמן דינר	28 נסים אלמגרב
קירתינ	29 אבו אלכיר אלצירפי
תמן דינר	30 אבו עמראן ענר אלשרטא
רבע דינר	31 אבן רחמה
רבע דינר	32 אבו עמראן בן צניר
רבע דינר	33 אבו עמראן
רבע דינר	34 אבו נצר בן מכתאר
רבע דינר	35 אבו אלכיר אלגיר
<i>Verso :</i>	
נצף דינר	36 מולאי אלשיך אבו מנצור
נצף דינר	37 אבו סער אבן אל קטאף
רבע דינר	38 אבו עמראן אבן אלכיאט ^{רבע, תמן}
תמן דינר	39 אבו אל חי
	40 אבו אל חסין אבן אל עאבד וצהרה הבה אלגמי[ע]
נצף ורבע	41 וצהרה אבו אלפרג

²⁰ "Easy," i.e. of birth, or wished-for future.

²¹ "Comforter."

²² From Buzār, a village about two parasangs distant from Nisāpūr, Persia. Cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. Veth, pp. 6, 30, 31.

²³ "Little messenger of good."

²⁴ Hebrew צדקה "Righteousness."

²⁵ Perhaps an abbreviation of Hebrew זְכַרְיָה Zechariah.

- 19 Ibn Sahl²⁰ the wine-dealer — an eighth dīnār.
 20 Ibn Mufarrij²¹ al-Ubzārī²² — an eighth dīnār.
 21 Ibn Bushair²³ — a half dīnār.
 22 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣadaḡah²⁴ — a half dīnār.
 23 The Sheikh Abū Zekharāi²⁵ Sūjmār — a half dīnār.
 24 Abū al-Faraj Nissīm¹⁸ — a half dīnār.
 25 Abū Zekharāi²⁵ Ibn Manasseh — a quarter dīnār.
 26 Abū Naṣr the son of the public mourner²⁶, and his partner — a half dīnār.
 27 Moses Ibn al-Majānī²⁷ — an eighth dīnār.
 28 Nissīm¹⁸ al-Maghribī²⁸ — an eighth dīnār.
 29 Abū al-Khair¹ the money-changer — two carats²⁹.
 30 Abū 'Umrān¹⁹, with the police³⁰ — an eighth dīnār.
 31 Ibn Raḡmah³¹ — a quarter dīnār.
 32 Abū 'Umrān¹⁹ Bin³² Ṣaghīr³³ — a quarter dīnār.
 33 Abū 'Umrān¹⁹ — a quarter dīnār.
 34 Abū Naṣr Bin³² Mukhtār — a quarter dīnār.
 35 Abū al-Khair¹ the proselyte³⁴ — a quarter dīnār.

Verso :

- 36 My lord the Sheikh Abū Maṣṣūr — a half dīnār.
 37 Abū Sa'd⁵ Ibn al-Katā'if³⁵ — a half dīnār.
 38 Abū 'Umrān, son of the tailor³⁶ — a quarter dīnār.
 39 Abū al-Ḥayy³⁷ — an eighth dīnār.
 40 Abū al-Ḥusain Ibn al-'Ābid³⁸ and his brother-in-law¹⁷, Hibah³⁹ — the whole.
 41 And the brother-in-law¹⁷ of Abū al-Faraj — a half and a quarter dīnār.

²⁰ מִכְלִי, a Hebrew word with an Arabic article.

²⁷ "Profit." ²⁸ "From the Barbary States."

²⁹ I.e. one-twelfth dīnār.

³⁰ شُرَطَه? or perhaps for شُطْرَاء "strangers." ³¹ "Mercy."

³² Here written בן and not אבן. This is possibly the north African *Bin*; hardly the Hebrew בן; almost certainly the regular form ابن as it appears in names in Arabic orthography.

³³ "Little." ³⁴ Hebrew לַיִט; or else جَيِّد "good."

³⁵ "Sweetmeats." Cf. note 6.

³⁶ Or Ibn al-Khayyāṭ. Over this name there is written in small letters, "a quarter, an eighth."

³⁷ "Living." Cf. note 8.

³⁸ "Pious."

³⁹ "Gift."

רבע דינר	42 צדקה אל צפין
רבע דינר	43 צדקה אל זגאג
רבע דינר	44 אבו אל חוסין אלדהבי
רבע דינר	45 טיבאן
רבע דינר	46 אבו אל חסן צדקה בן שמעון
רבע דינר	47 אלשיך אבו אסחק אבן אל עסאל
רבע דינר	48 פרג בן נחום
רבע דינר	49 אזוהר בן אזוהר
רבע דינר	50 אלשיך אבו אסחק בן חוגיג
רבע דינר	51 אלשיך אבו סחק אל פצי
רבע דינר	52 אלשיך אבו יוסף אבן אל
תמן דינר	53 כלף אלזיאת
רבע דינר	54 אבו סרור סדר אלמגרבי
רבע דינר	55 אבו מוסי הרון אלנהבר

⁴⁰ "Hidden Treasure."

⁴¹ The same as Husain, of course.

⁴² "Golden." Cf. *Goldmann, Goldstein, Goldberg*, etc.

⁴³ Pedantic as it would be, perhaps it is طيباً "well done!"

42	Ṣadaḳah ²⁴ al-Ṣafīn ⁴⁰	— a quarter dīnār.
43	Ṣadaḳah ²⁴ the glazier	— a quarter dīnār.
44	Abū al-Ḥūsain ⁴¹ al-Dhahabī ⁴²	— a quarter dīnār.
45	Ṭayyibān ⁴³	— a quarter dīnār.
46	Abū al-Ḥasan Ṣadaḳah ²⁴ Bin ³² Simon	— a quarter dīnār.
47	The Sheikh Abū Isaac Ibn al-‘Assāl ⁴⁴	— a quarter dīnār.
48	Faraj Bin ³² Nahum	— a quarter dīnār.
49	Azhar Bin ³² Azhar ⁴⁵	— a quarter dīnār.
50	The Sheikh Abū Isaac Bin ³² Ḥūjaij ⁴⁶	— a quarter dīnār.
51	The Sheikh Abū Isaac ⁴⁷ al-Fiḍḍī ⁴⁸	— a quarter dīnār.
52	The Sheikh Abū Joseph Ibn al-.....	— a quarter dīnār.
53	Kalaf ⁴⁹ the oil-dealer	— an eighth dīnār.
54	Abū ⁵⁰ Sarūr Sidr ⁵¹ al-Maghribī ²⁸	— a quarter dīnār.
55	Abū Moses Aaron the money-changer	— a quarter dīnār.

⁴⁴ "Sweet as honey." Cf. note 6.

⁴⁵ "Very brilliant." Cf. *Glanz*, *Finkelstein*, etc.

⁴⁶  "Little ear-ring." ⁴⁷ The *Ṣ* has been omitted.

⁴⁸ "Silvery." Cf. *Silbermann*, *Silberstein*, etc.

⁴⁹ "Love," or perhaps  "progeny."

⁵⁰ There seems to have been something before this, blotted out.

⁵¹ "Lotus tree."

XIV. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Paper. One double page, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters. On the *verso* much has been blurred and effaced.

Recto: (a)

1 שרח אלדי וקע עלי אחריר אלמצבוג
2 אלאצל כאם סו רטל אלתמן ש דינר
3 וכרג עליהא נפקה ולואזם מא ישרח
4 אולא נקין אלסו רטל כ דינר
5 ופי קרמו ללצבאג פה דינר
6 ופי נפקה ענהא כה דינר
7 ופי אנרת אל צבאגין כ דינר
8 ופי צבאג אכ. ל ואכצר כד דינר
9 דאלך אלגמלה קעד דינר

10 אלגמלתין תעד דינר

11 צח פיה מצבוג סו רטל

Recto: (b)

1 וון אחריר אלדי תרבת ענר סירי אבי
2 אסחק אבן אלסכנדראני סלמה ללה
3 יז רטל בזאש

Verso: (a)

1 אלדי לי פי פור ג אעדל
2 נפ. ס. ע. א. ... בחמל אלכרי
3 מתקאלין ונצף ואיצא עדל חריר
4 פיה אלחריר ומ. וד מצבוג
5 ורזמתין לי עתיק ובסאטט כביר
6 חסב נף חמל כרתה מתקאל ורבע
7 קבין מן דאלך תכון מתמאלין
8 בקי עלי מתקאלין אלי רבע ידפעהא

¹ A roṭl is equal to about 12 ounces.

² Cf. No. VII, note 8.

³ Perhaps some mistake had been made in the weighing, or the quality was not what it should have been.

⁴ He had written תלא[צין] "polishers."

XIV. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Recto: (a)

1	Detail of the sum spent for the dyed silk:	
2	The stock, unbleached, 66 roṭls ¹ ; price	— 300 dinārs ² .
3	Expenses and other necessities paid out as follows:	
4	Firstly, diminution in the value of the 66 roṭls ³	— 20 dinārs.
5	And in crimson dye for the dyer	— 85 dinārs.
6	And in expenses connected with this	— 25 dinārs.
7	And in wages for the dyers ⁴	— 20 dinārs.
8	And in..... ⁵ and green dyes	— 24 dinārs.
<hr/>		
9	The whole sum equals	— 174 dinārs.
10	The two sums equal	— 474 dinārs.
11	There resulted actually of dyed goods, 63 roṭls.	

Recto: (b)

- 1 Weight of the silk which I left with my lord Abū
 2 Isaac al-Iskandarānī—God grant him grace!—
 3 is 17 roṭls.....(?)⁶

Verso: (a)

- 1which belongs to me in.....3 bales
 2by the load⁷
 3 two mithkāl⁸ and a half, and also a bale of silk,
 4 in which.....the silk, and dyed.....
 5 and two bundles of clothes belonging to me, old⁹, and a large rug¹⁰
 6 enough for more than the load of.....a mithkāl and a quarter
 7 taken off from this.....becomes two mithkāl⁸.
 8 There remains on two mithkāl⁸ as much as a quarter which he will pay

⁵ Perhaps **أَخْطَل** "fly-green," or **أَرْبَل** "tree-green."

⁶ A word of four letters follows.

⁷ **كِرَى** = **كِرَاء**. Cf. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Vol. iv, p. 340.

⁸ Cf. No. VII, note 8.

⁹ We should have expected a dual.

¹⁰ **بُسْطَا** has an extra **ط** as if **بَسَاطِيط** from a singular **بُسْطَا**.

- 9 אליה... דפעתהא אריה
 10 ...ת ב... עמראן אלסקלי עדל פיה
 11 ...בות מרגאן מנהא אלי אלמראג
 12 ב. ז. ול... כלה וילכא... לי... וזנת
 13 אנא ען... אלעדל חמל וברטיל דירה[ם]

Verso: (b)

- 1 שרי אלעצפר ה קנאטיר מן סער
 2 כט דינר כל קנאטאר אלתמן קמה דינר
 3 וכרג ענה אנמאע ותלים ותכאר וכיט
 4 ושרא ה דנאר ודרהמין וברטיל
 5 וחמרין ורואום יב דרה דארך מן אלגמלה
 6 .. דינר פד דינר ז דרה

¹¹ Cf. סקליה = "Sicily," in Mann, *The Jews in Egypt*, Vol. ii, p. 74, l. 11: صقلية, سقلية. Ibn Khurdādhbih (de Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, Vol. vi), p. 91.

9 to him.....I have paid them to him
 10‘Umrān the Sicilian¹¹, a sack in which is
 11corals, some of them belonging to the coral-gatherer¹²
 12I have weighed
 13 I from.....the sack, the portorage and the bakshish of a dirham.

Verso: (b)

1 He has bought 5 hundredweight of saffron from Sa’d
 2 [paying] 29 dīnārs for every hundredweight [which makes] the price
 145 dīnārs
 3 and [these should be] deducted from this [for] leather table-cloths, and
 and.....and string
 4 and.....8 dīnārs and 2 dirhams, and bakshish
 5 and [for] porters¹³ and [other] necessary expenses 12 dirhams. This [to
 be taken] from the sum
 6dīnārs, 24 dīnārs, 6 dirhams.

¹² مَرَّاجٍ instead of the usual مَرَّاجِنِي.

¹³ חמלין for حَمَّالِينَ, but in the colloquial form *ḥammalīn*.

XV. CHARM

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters, not easily read. Vowel points are occasionally inserted, but ignorantly. The spelling is bad, and may represent a peculiar pronunciation: Moroccan, Persian, Yemenite or Ashkenazic. The Arabic article and imperative have crept in.

Recto:

- 1 בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה נַעֲשֶׂה וְנַצְלַח
- 2 עַל פִּי יְהוָה יָבִיא אֵלַי שֶׁר
- 3 הַשְׂרִים אֶךְ : מִטְטְרוֹן
- 4 אֶךְ הוּא אֱהוּב וְחָבִיב
- 5 מְכַל פְּנֵי מְרוֹמֵן עֶבֶד
- 6 לֵאלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּהֵן גֹּדֵל
- 7 רֹאשׁ הַכְּהֻנִּים שִׁישׁ לֶךְ
- 8 שְׁבַעִים שִׁמוֹת שְׂאֵתָה
- 9 הַמְּמוֹנָה עַל הַסְּרִים הַגְּדוֹלִים
- 10 וְאַתָּה רֹאשׁ הַמַּהֲנוֹת
- 11 מִשְׁבִּיעַ אֲנִי עוֹלֵךְ בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה
- 12 צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁבֵּךְ
- 13 הַכְּרוֹבִים וּבִשֵּׁם הַמְּפֹרֶשׁ
- 14 וּבִשֵּׁם הַגֹּדֵל הַגָּבֵר וְהַנֶּרָא
- 15 הַחֹזֵק הָאֵל מִן הַמְּסַנֵּב הַנִּפְלֵא
- 16 וּבִשֵּׁם אֶסְטָטְסֵס אֵל רַחֲמָא[ן]
- 17 שְׂתַאבִּיא וּלְמִימֵר בְּשׁוּשָׁן
- 18 בְּשִׁמְחָה בְּבִשְׂרָה טוֹבָה

¹ Or perhaps הַשְׂרִים, "the Prince of demons." In any case "prince" is the technical term for the figures seen by the "scryer," or gazer into crystals, ink-pools, and the like. The Arabs call them "kings." In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 37 ff., there is abundant material on this subject. See also Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature*, London, 1913; and Blau, *Alt-jüdisches Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 11. *Sanhedrin*, 101a says: "One is allowed to ask the princes of oil and the princes of eggs; only they lie. One whispers a spell over oil in the vessel, but does not whisper over oil in the hand....." Blau fails to understand that this refers to scrying with oil and with eggs, broken into a cup or plate. Rashī (11th cent.) on the passage, explains the "princes of oil" as "princes of the thumb." They are figures seen in the oiled thumbnail.

[illegible]

וְלִשְׁמִינִי וְלִשְׁמִינִי
 וְלִשְׁמִינִי וְלִשְׁמִינִי
 סֶלֶה חֹדֶי עֵינַי מִיִּסֵּס
 נִיחָה מִקֶּסֶם אִשָּׁה מִקֶּסֶם
 וְאִיחָה וְלֹא מִסְפָּח מִדָּח
 וְאִיחָה שֶׁבַע כְּעֻמּוֹס
 וְאִיחָה נִבְשָׁה מִן דָּח מִלִּמּוֹת
 תִּדָּח תִּשְׁבַּע עֲלֵי שֶׁלֶךְ
 אִשָּׁה חֲגִיל תִּשְׁבַּע עֲלֵי שֶׁלֶךְ
 בִּשְׁסִי יִתְּנוּ אֶלֶּיךָ שֶׁלֶךְ כֹּסֶם
 חֲכִירִינִים שֶׁלֶךְ חֲכִירִינִים
 שֶׁלֶךְ כְּעֻמּוֹס וְלֹא מִסְפָּח
 אִיחָה בִּדְיוֹךְ שֶׁלֶךְ כְּכֹסֶם
 מִלִּכְבֹּשׁ לְעֹלָם וְעֹלָמָה
 מִלִּכְבֹּשׁ תִּתֵּן תִּתֵּן תִּתֵּן
 תִּתֵּן תִּתֵּן תִּתֵּן תִּתֵּן
 מִלִּכְבֹּשׁ בִּדְיוֹךְ שֶׁלֶךְ

חֲכִירִינִים עֲלֹךְ תִּתֵּן
 חֲכִירִינִים חֲכִירִינִים
 עֲלֵי שֶׁלֶךְ שֶׁלֶךְ שֶׁלֶךְ
 בִּשְׁסִי תִתֵּן תִּתֵּן
 אִשָּׁה חֲכִירִינִים שֶׁלֶךְ
 אִיחָה חֲכִירִינִים וְלֹא
 אִיחָה חֲכִירִינִים שֶׁלֶךְ
 חֲכִירִינִים חֲכִירִינִים
 חֲכִירִינִים חֲכִירִינִים
 חֲכִירִינִים חֲכִירִינִים

XV. CHARM

This is a magical text, to be used in "scrying," or self-hypnotic gazing, at some bright surface. The angel Miṭaṭrōn is adjured by the Ineffable Name, with the will of God, to reveal through an apparition, or "prince," the location of hidden gold pieces, to one Ṣedhākāh Ben Sitt al-Ahl, and his mother, Sitt al-Ahl. The magic is kept "white" by reference to the God of Israel; but His Name is nevertheless taken in vain. Scrying with oil, ink, egg, and bright objects was common among Jews and Arabs in the Orient, then as now.

Recto:

- 1 In the Name of YHWH may we do and prosper!
- 2 According to the word of YHWH may it bring to me the Prince of
- 3 the princes¹, Akh²! Miṭaṭrōn³!
- 4 Akh²! He is more beloved⁴ and dear
- 5 than all the faces of His heaven. A servant⁵
- 6 unto the God of Israel! High Priest⁶!
- 7 Chief of the Priests, unto whom belong
- 8 seventy names! [You] who are
- 9 the appointed one over the great princes!
- 10 You, the chief of the appointed ones!
- 11 I adjure you⁷ by the Name YHWH
- 12 Ṣebhā'ōth, the God of Israel, seated
- 13 above the Cherubim⁸! And by the Ineffable Name!
- 14 And by the Great, Mighty, Awful Name⁹!
- 15 The Strong, Steadfast¹⁰, Exalted, Gigantic [Name]!
- 16 And by the name Eses! Teses¹¹! Raḥmān¹²!
- 17 That you bring and [make] to speak, gladly¹³,
- 18 with rejoicing and good tidings;

² A proper name or a magical word of power.

³ The highest of the angels. See Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*.

⁴ This is "white" magic. The possible evil of resorting to it is averted by considering the spiritual agent as merely the deputy of God, or as a blessed agency.

⁵ After עבד was written סנן, "deputy high priest."

⁶ גדול is constantly spelled גורל in this text.

⁷ עולך for עולך. The ך was deflected toward ם.

⁸ From I Samuel iv, 4.

⁹ The writer intended הגדול הנבור הנורה.

¹⁰ There is a deleted letter in האמן.

¹¹ Magical words of power. On the *margin*: "Forever and ever."

¹² Arabic as well as Hebrew.

¹³ There would be danger in dealing with unwilling spirits.

- 19 ותראיני לי וליה אמר
 20 בזה הלילה מהירה אי
 21 זה מקם אלוהובים פה
 22 אלכה עינינו נראה זה
 23 המקם תמים תמים
 24 בשם השבעתי עולריך אתה
 25 השר הגדול עשה במהירה
 26 ברוגא[?]ה עשה ואל תאחר
 27 וכבודך של שם המפורש
 28 יהי רצון מלפני יהוה
 29 לצדקה בן שת אלאהל[?]

Verso :

- 30 ולשת אלאהל ויודיע
 31 מחשובת אמן אמן
 32 סלה הודיעינו אי זה
 33 מזה מקם אשר במקם
 34 ואראה ולא אשכח אתה
 35 ואכירה שבע פעומים
 36 ותנצל נפשי מן זה המות
 37 הוזה השבעתי עולריך
 38 אשר הגדול הממונה על השרים
 39 בשם יהוה אלהי ישראל יוש[?]
 40 הכרובים שתראיני אלהלם
 41 שבעה פעומים ולא אשכח
 42 אתה ברוך שם כבוד
 43 מלכותו לעולם ועד אמן[?]
 44 אמן סלה תת תת תתתת
 45 תת תת תת . תת ותת
 46 אמן סלה ברוך שם כבוד

¹⁴ For לִי וְלֵה (Aramaic).

¹⁵ Arabic article with a Hebrew word.

¹⁶ בְּרִנְעָה ?

19 and that you cause me to see : [cause] me [to see] it¹⁴!

[This, O magician,] say :

20 "In this night ! Quickly ! Where is

21 this—the place of the¹⁵ gold pieces ? Here ?

22 Let me go ! [With] our eyes let us see this—

23 the place ! Perfectly ! Perfectly !

24 By the Name I have adjured you⁷ ! You,

25 the Great Prince ! Act quickly,

26 instantly¹⁶ ! Act, and delay not !

27 And [by] your honor, which is [the honor of] the Ineffable Name !

28 Let it be a favor from the presence of YHWH,

29 unto Šedhākāh Ben Sitt al-Ahl¹⁷.

Verso :

30 and unto Sitt al-Ahl ! And may he make known

31 thoughts¹⁸ ! Amen ! Amen !

32 Selah ! Inform us ! Where is this—

33 what is this place which is somewhere¹⁹ !

34 And let me see ; and do not you forget [, O Prince]²⁰ !

35 And [this is] the end²¹, [of the spell, which you say] seven times²².

36 And may my soul escape this—this

37 death²³ ! I adjure you⁷,

38 who are the great one, appointed over the princes,

39 by the name of YHWH, the God of Israel, seated above

40 the Cherubim, that you show me the¹⁵ dream²⁴ !

41 [The following say] seven times²², and do not forget²⁰ :

42 "Thou art blessed, Name of Honor !

43 His rule is forever and ever ! Amen !

44 Amen ! Selah ! TT TT TTTT

45 TT TT TT. TT and TT¹¹

46 Amen ! Selah ! Blessed is the Name of Honor !

¹⁷ I.e. "Lady of the Family." Cf. the Arabic name Sitt al-Dār in No. XI, and Sitt al-Bahā, Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 363.

¹⁸ For מַחְשְׁבוֹת.

¹⁹ The disjointed construction may be due to confusion.

²⁰ An Arabic imperative of a Hebrew word.

²¹ Arabic.

²² פְּעֻמִּים for פְּעֻמִּים. The פ was deflected toward o.

²³ I.e. the result of attempting the spell, or of not ridding oneself of its influence at the conclusion. Cf. p. 49 of the article in *J.A.O.S.* cited. Professor Campbell Bonner suggests reading מֵית = מֵת "dead" ; and understands here a reference to a necrodaemon.

²⁴ I.e. the vision in the crystal.

47 השבעתי עליך השר

48 הגודל הממונה

49 על השרים הגדלים

50 בשם המפורש

51 שתראיני מקם

52 אלזהובים ולא

53 אשכח אתה בערק

54 תמים ותגלה לי

55 לי אנא סורה במהרה

56 אמן אמן סלה

47 I adjure you, O Great
48 Prince, the appointed one
49 over the great princes,
50 by the Ineffable Name !
51 that you show me the place
52 of the gold pieces. And do not
53 you forget²⁰ ! [It is] in a box !
54 Perfectly ! And reveal to me !
55 To me ! Me ! SWRH ! Quickly !
56 Amen ! Amen ! Selah !”

XVI. DOCUMENT

A small sheet of paper, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing a document in Arabic script and language.

The script is atrociously bad; and for the full deciphering, it would need the vision of the late Professor J. Karabacek¹. In two or three places only are dots used to distinguish one letter from several of its fellows.

The scrawl at the end of line 8 can only be imagined to stand for six hundred. If this is correct, the document is dated Monday, the 2nd of Shawwāl, 654 A.H., or the 23rd of October, A.D. 1256.

On the *verso* are three more lines of the same sort, and above these at least one preceding line. Of these scarcely a word can be read.

The difficulty of deciphering such writing as this might be compared to what would be encountered centuries hence by anyone who tried to read the strange marks now made by salesmen on their sales-slips in our department stores.

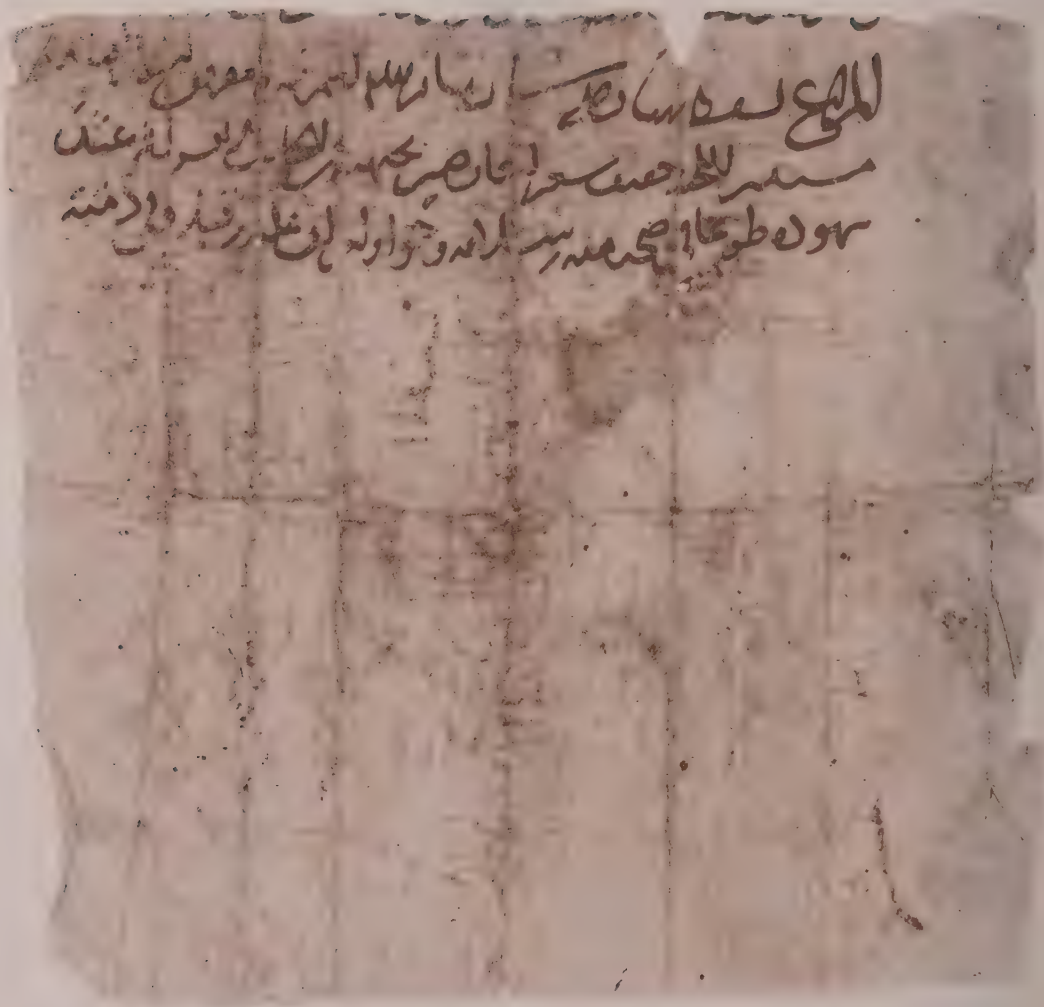
Grateful acknowledgment of assistance is here made to M. Casanova of Paris, to Mr David Yellin of Jerusalem, and to Mr Raja F. Howrani.

Recto:

- 1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اقر محمد بن مصطفى بن عبد الله الفران وصله
من مدة
 - 2 للوضع نحوه له مرسوم عنده في ضمنه وحرزه
 - 3 لغرض ماله لمرسم له قبل اسحاق بن ابي سعد بن محاسن اليهودي
 - 4 الكعكي وصله سالما . دفع . طالما من يشهد بتوفيه ضمنه
 - 5 مهما ضمنه في مبلغ المسطور المكتوب على اسحاق المذكور وعلى ابراهيم
 - 6 بركات حق بلا طلب ولا ضمان لمرسمي فيه
 - 7 ولا حق من سائر الحقوق كلها بالغاية باسرها
 - 8 شهد عليهما في الثاني من شوال سنة اربع وخمسين وستمائة
 - 9 اشهد على المقر بذلك
 - 10 وكتب احمد بن سليمان بن ابراهيم
- اشهد بذلك
- وكتب محمد بن حسين بن علي بن منصور

¹ See, e.g., his publication of specimens from Arabic documents in *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vols. ii and iii, pp. 87 seq., his *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, p. 259, and al-Kalkāshandī's *Subḥ al-A'shā*, vol. iii, pp. 55-142.

۱۰۰
 ۱۰۱
 ۱۰۲
 ۱۰۳
 ۱۰۴
 ۱۰۵
 ۱۰۶
 ۱۰۷
 ۱۰۸
 ۱۰۹
 ۱۱۰
 ۱۱۱
 ۱۱۲
 ۱۱۳
 ۱۱۴
 ۱۱۵
 ۱۱۶
 ۱۱۷
 ۱۱۸
 ۱۱۹
 ۱۲۰
 ۱۲۱
 ۱۲۲
 ۱۲۳
 ۱۲۴
 ۱۲۵
 ۱۲۶
 ۱۲۷
 ۱۲۸
 ۱۲۹
 ۱۳۰
 ۱۳۱
 ۱۳۲
 ۱۳۳
 ۱۳۴
 ۱۳۵
 ۱۳۶
 ۱۳۷
 ۱۳۸
 ۱۳۹
 ۱۴۰
 ۱۴۱
 ۱۴۲
 ۱۴۳
 ۱۴۴
 ۱۴۵
 ۱۴۶
 ۱۴۷
 ۱۴۸
 ۱۴۹
 ۱۵۰
 ۱۵۱
 ۱۵۲
 ۱۵۳
 ۱۵۴
 ۱۵۵
 ۱۵۶
 ۱۵۷
 ۱۵۸
 ۱۵۹
 ۱۶۰
 ۱۶۱
 ۱۶۲
 ۱۶۳
 ۱۶۴
 ۱۶۵
 ۱۶۶
 ۱۶۷
 ۱۶۸
 ۱۶۹
 ۱۷۰
 ۱۷۱
 ۱۷۲
 ۱۷۳
 ۱۷۴
 ۱۷۵
 ۱۷۶
 ۱۷۷
 ۱۷۸
 ۱۷۹
 ۱۸۰
 ۱۸۱
 ۱۸۲
 ۱۸۳
 ۱۸۴
 ۱۸۵
 ۱۸۶
 ۱۸۷
 ۱۸۸
 ۱۸۹
 ۱۹۰
 ۱۹۱
 ۱۹۲
 ۱۹۳
 ۱۹۴
 ۱۹۵
 ۱۹۶
 ۱۹۷
 ۱۹۸
 ۱۹۹
 ۲۰۰



GENIZAH FRAGMENT 16 b

XVI. DOCUMENT

A document in which a Muslim, Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā, acknowledges that he has received from two Jews, Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd and Abraham Barakāt, the value of money which they owe him. Isaac and Abraham are released from any further responsibility for this. Isaac seems to have transacted the business. Two Muslims sign their names as witnesses of the acknowledgment. Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā does not himself sign. The words "he wrote" before the signatures show that we have here only a copy of the document. Perhaps this is often the case with our fragments.

Recto :

- 1 In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Muḥammad Ibn
 Muṣṭaphā Ibn 'Abdallāh, the Baker, acknowledges [that] he received
 some time ago
 2² as a deposit and so forth³, belonging to him, itemized, in
 his possession, in his responsible custody,
 3 as something belonging to him, documented as his, in the presence of
 Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd Ibn Muḥāsīn the Jew,
 4 the pastryman, [that] he has received safely.....payment.....as long as
 anyone witnesses the complete payment of his responsibility,
 5 whatever his responsibility, in the sum documented and written down
 against the aforementioned Isaac and against Abraham
 6 Barakāt, a right without question and without responsibility for the things
 explicitly mentioned⁴
 7 or any claim of all the remaining [possible] claims, at the utmost, in
 their entirety.
 8 He testified regarding the two of them on the second of Shawwāl, [of]
 the year six hundred and fifty-four.
 9 I testify regarding him who acknowledged this: And he wrote⁵: "Aḥmad
 Ibn Sulaimān Ibn Ibrāhīm." I testify regarding this:
 10 And he wrote⁵: "Muḥammad Ibn Huṣāin Ibn 'Alī Ibn Manṣūr."

² Evidently certain articles are named here, or sums of money. The second word in this line occurs again as the fourth word in line 4.

³ نحوه, abbreviating some documentary formula.

⁴ لمرسمى is plainly written. Is it intended for a plural construct?

⁵ Equivalent to our bracketed word "Signed."

XVII. PENITENTIAL HYMN

Paper $10\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, written upon both sides.

Hebrew in rude, cursive Hebrew letters.

The strophe is of four lines, the first three of which rime, while the fourth line contains the general rime of the hymn. The first line in the fragment contains the end of one stanza. There follow three stanzas, and then comes one line containing a few words of supplication that are often used as a mark of division between one poem and another one succeeding it. After these stanzas come two stanzas of two different pizmōnīm; but these contain only two lines each, so-called "sheniyyah," though the same rime ends each half-line. A later hand has copied and fully punctuated these two stanzas.

Recto :

יְהוֹכֵחַ וּמַת אֵין לוֹ דְּמִים

פִּזְמוֹ

כֹּלָה נָא מֵאֲדוּם צְבֹא וְהִמּוֹן ²

וְקָם שֶׁבֶט מִנּוּחָלִי דָּת אִמּוֹן ³

וְאִזּוּ עַל מִשְׁפָּטוֹ יֵשֶׁב אֲרִמּוֹן ⁴

נָא בְּצִדְקַת אֲבִי הִמּוֹן בֹּא בִּימִים ⁵

פִּזְמוֹ

נָא בִּשְׁׁוֹב עֵמֶךָ אֵל יִקַּח בִּשְׁנָה ⁶

וּפְדֵהוּ שְׁנִית כְּמוֹ מְגוּשָׁנָה ⁷

לְשׁוֹב כְּשָׁנוֹת קֶדֶם לְשַׁעַר הַיִּשְׁנָה ⁸

לְחוּג בִּשְׁנָה שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים ⁹

פִּזְמוֹ

זְרוּיִים יִשְׁמִיעַ אֵל מִזְבּוּלוֹ ¹⁰

קוֹל מִבֶּשֶׁר מֵאֵת פְּנֵיהֶ כִּי לוֹ ¹¹

[צִאנָ]כֶם עִם מִרְעִיתוֹ וְחִבְלוֹ ¹²

יְבִי[שֶׁר] גְּאוּלָּה וְלֹא יִקַּחַת עִמָּם ¹³

אֵל מֶלֶךְ יוֹשֵׁב עַל כֶּסֶף רַחֲמִים ¹⁴

אֵל מֶלֶךְ ¹⁵

¹ Cf. Exodus xxii, 1.

² I.e. Rome or the Byzantine Empire.

³ Read וְקָם. Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17: וְקָם שֶׁבֶט מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל.

⁴ The reference is, of course, to Egypt. The original reading of the third word was מִנּוּחָלִי. This has been smudged out and beneath it מִנּוּחָלִי written.

XVII. PENITENTIAL HYMN

A portion of a Pizmōn, i.e. a hymn with a refrain, forming a part of the extensive Seliḥah, or penitential, literature, which was composed by the Jews during the early Middle Ages, and graced the Synagogal liturgy upon days set apart for invoking the forgiveness and the clemency of God.

Acknowledgments are due to Professor Israel Davidson for his help with some of the faded places, and with the literature.

Recto :

1 And be smitten that he die, there shall be no blood shed for him¹.

Pizmōn.

2 Make an end, now, in Edom² of host and legion,

3 And a sceptre shall rise³ out of [Israel,] the inheritors of [subjection to]
the law of Ammon⁴.

4 And then in judgment may He sit in His palace—

5 Because of the righteousness of the Father of Nations, stricken in age⁵.

Pizmōn.

6 O, when Thy people repenteth, let it not receive shame⁶.

7 Redeem it a second time as Thou didst from Goshen,

8 That it may return, as in days of yore, to the Old Gate⁷,

9 To celebrate Thy festivals three times a year.

Pizmōn.

10 May God cause His scattered ones to hear His voice from on high,

11 A voice of good tidings from God himself, that to Him belongs

12 Your flock⁸, together with its pasture-place and its land,

13 Proclaiming redemption⁹. To Him the people shall gather.

14 O God, King, that sittest upon the seat of mercy.

15 O God, King!

¹ I.e. Abraham; cf. Genesis xviii, 11; xxiv, 1. The scribe wrote at first באימין, which he then corrected.

² Cf. Hosea x, 6: בְּשֵׁנָה.

³ Cf. Nehemiah iii, 6.

⁴ Reading quite uncertain. Professor Davidson suggests as a possible reading ערריכם.

⁵ Professor Davidson disagrees with the reading, and believes that only four letters fill the space, i.e. גולה. It is peculiar that וְלוֹ is written ולא, though in the passage (Gen. xlix, 10) there is no Kere and Kethibh.

Verso :

¹ יי שמעה בקולי ראה עניי ועמלי
² וכפר חטאי ומעלי יי אלהים חילי
 פזמ
³ אם חטאי נשמר ועוני נגמר
⁴ בשרי מפחדך סמר יי מה אומר

XVIII. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

Paper $9\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Leaf from a merchant's note-book.

Arabic in Hebrew characters : written in a hurried cursive hand, similar to that on the *verso* of No. XXXVI, and very difficult to read.

Recto :

¹ אבו זכרי קבו וה' כו
² דאור קבו ט קש
³ ואבו זכרי קפו ונף
⁴ אבו יוסף קפט....
⁵ גרע אבי זכרי פה....
⁶ עולאי מלפלפל.....
⁷ צו ש

⁸ וגבת מ... פלפל עב ש
⁹ מנרך נוע כג' ז וש
¹⁰ ורע גיץ ז ש....
¹¹ וגיץ ו... נוע ז א' ותלת
¹² קנכא אלף.....
¹³ אבו אלסרור כל... ג' איצא
¹⁴ צא' ש....
¹⁵ ועריה צדת תצל בכט....
¹⁶ פצנכת כח' ש ונסף

Verso:

- 1 O God, listen to my voice, understand my affliction and my travail.
 2 Forgive my sins and my faithlessness. The Lord God is my strength¹⁰.

Pizmōn.

- 3 If my sin is to be remembered, if my iniquity is to be completed,
 4 From fear of Thee my flesh would creep; O God! What shall I say¹¹?

XVIII. LEAF FROM A MERCHANT'S NOTE-BOOK

It is impossible to give a connected translation, or even to transcribe more than these first two sections of the *recto*. The remaining section of the *recto*, and the *verso*, which has two sections running from opposite ends to the center, are in the same hand, though more carelessly written.

Below we print a few of the expressions which are recognizable.

Recto:

- 1 Abū Zachariah, 126 and 5, 26
 2 David, 126 9, 100, 300
 3 and Abū Zachariah, 186 and a half
 4 Abū Joseph, 189.....
 5 Abū Zachariah's boy, 85.....
 6with pepper,
 7 97, 300
-
- 8 And I brought.....pepper, 72, 300
 9variety, 23, 7 and 300
 107, 300
 11variety, 6, 1 and a third.
 12thousand.....
 13 Abū al-Sarūr, all...3 also
 14 91, 300
 15 and he owes.....combined with 29.....
 1628, 300 and a half
-

¹⁰ Cf. Habakkuk iii, 19.

¹¹ Cf. Joshua vii, 8.

XIX. POETIC FRAGMENTS UPON THE BACK OF AN ARABIC DOCUMENT

Paper $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Portion of a book (?) made up of long strips of paper which had been used once before. Upon the back there are some lines in a hopelessly difficult Arabic script.

Recto :

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|----|
| | בַּאֵשׁ אוֹכֵלֶת . . . | 1 |
| וַאֲשׁ יְגוֹן שְׂרַפָּת | | 2 |
| | וּכְמַעַט קָטַ אֶכְלָתִנִּי | 3 |
| | וְאֵיךְ תִּיקַד וּכְפָתִנִּי | 4 |
| מַעֲיִנִי שְׂבוּרָת | | 5 |
| | וְהֵן לָעֵה דְבָרְתִי | 6 |
| | כִּי נִם רַבָּה מַכּוֹתִי | 7 |
| | וְהוֹשְׁבָה שְׁמִרְתִּי | 8 |
| בְּרִם עֵינִי מְנוּקָת | | 9 |
| | מ . . . חִשְׁבוּ מְאוּרִי | 10 |
| | וְשָׁבוּ כְּצֵל יְצוּרִי | 11 |
| | ל . . . מְמוּגוּרִי | 12 |
| תִּבְדַּל מִתַּחֲלָחֶלֶת | | 13 |
| | וּמ . . . וְאֶשְׁכּוֹנָה | 14 |
| | מְעוֹן תִּנִּין וּבֵת יַעֲנָה | 15 |
| | וְהִי לִי כִנָּף יוֹנָה | 16 |
| אוּ רַגְלֵי אֵילָת | | 17 |
| | וְלִי יְאוּרִ פִּינִיָּהֶם | 18 |
| | לִשְׁכּוֹן . . . בְּנִיָּהֶם | 19 |
| | וּמְקָרִיָּהֶם . . . | 20 |
| תּוֹגַתִּי נִכְפָּרָת | | 21 |
| | וְאַנּוּד . . . | 22 |
| | ש . . . שְׁם פָּנָיו . . . | 23 |

¹ Cf. Ezekiel xvi, 47.

XIX. POETIC FRAGMENTS UPON THE BACK OF AN ARABIC DOCUMENT

The Hebrew of the *recto* is written in half-square characters, and is a portion of some *diwān* or collection of poems. It is, however, written continuously, without any consideration for the form of the poem.

Professor Israel Davidson has very kindly gone over the fragment and made some useful suggestions. The text has been rearranged and pointed by Professor Gottheil.

Recto:

- 1 as a fire that devoureth.
- 2 And a burning fire of grief.
- 3 And, as if that were only a little thing¹, it hath devoured me.
- 4 And how it burneth, and hath ground me in pieces!
- 5 [Like the] sources of a torrent.
- 6 And behold, my utterance stammereth.
- 7 For my wounds [are] a great wonder(?)
- 8 And my garment hath been cut(?)
- 9 Rolled in the blood of mine eyes.
- 10 And my lights have grown dark
- 11 And my creations(?) have become like a shadow.
- 12 from my neighbourhood.
- 13 A shaken world.
- 14 And let me dwell.
- 15 The haunt of jackals² and the ostrich.
- 16 And let me have the wing of a dove
- 17 Or the legs of a hind.
- 18 And I shall have light in their midst.
- 19 To dwell among them.
- 20 and their accidents.
- 21 My grief is doubled.
- 22 And I shall wander
- 23 and in me there His face

² Cf. Jeremiah ix, 10

XX. LEAF FROM A BOOK OF POEMS

Paper $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A leaf, in a half-square hand, from a book of Hebrew poems.

It begins with the last verse of a poem by Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092—1167), the acrostic of whose name, *Abraham*, can be followed at the beginning of the four verses that remain out of the five. The first stanza must have been rimed with a *nun*. Each stanza is separated from its successor by the word פִּזְמוֹן.

Recto:

	יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי רַחוּם וְחַנּוּן	1
פִּזְמוֹן		
	יְיָ בַצֵּל יָדָךְ כָּל כְּסִית	2
	יְיָ עַל מִי חֲשׂוּבִים אֹר נִסִּית	3
	יְיָ כֹּלֶם בַּחֲכָמָה עֲשִׂית	4
פִּזְמוֹן		
	יְיָ רֵמַת מֵאֵד וּמִי יִכְלִיךְ	5
	יְיָ תִלְיָתָהּ כָּל עֲלִיךְ	6
	יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי אֵין עֲרוּךְ אֱלִיךְ	7
פִּזְמוֹן		
	יְיָ הִישׁ וְיֵשׁ לֵאֵין תַּתָּה	8
	יְיָ כְּבוֹד שִׁמְךָ לִמְעַן שְׁתָּה	9
	יְיָ מִנֵּת חֲלָקֶי וְכֹסִי אַתָּה	10
פִּזְמוֹן		
	יְיָ מִמְרוֹם שְׁלַח קַחֲנִי	11

Verso:

	יְיָ בַעֲצָתְךָ בַּחֲלָדֵי נַחֲנִי	12
	יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי בִּאֲפָךְ תּוֹכִיחֵנִי	13

¹ Cf. Isaiah li, 16.

² Cf. Psalm civ, 24.

³ Cf. Psalm xl, 6. The word אֵין is badly written אֵין.

XX. LEAF FROM A BOOK OF POEMS

The second poem, as Professor Davidson was quick to detect, is by Judah ha-Lēvī (b. 1035). The acrostic of his name can be discerned in the last six of these eight verses of the poem, the whole of which can be found in the *Diwān des Abū-l-Hasan Jehuda ha-Levi* (ed. H. Brody), vol. iii, p. 164. The writer of our fragment calls it: פִּזְמוֹן בְּלִבִּי according to the opening words. Brody's edition furnishes our emendations and restorations.

Recto :

1 Lord, Lord God, Merciful and Compassionate.

Pizmōn

2 O Lord, Thou hast covered everything with the shadow of Thy Hand¹!

3 O Lord, over dark waters Thou hast raised a light.

4 O Lord, in wisdom Thou hast made them all².

Pizmōn

5 O Lord, Thou art very high-placed and who can comprehend Thee?

6 O Lord, Thou hast made everything dependent upon Thee.

7 O Lord, my God, there is nothing that can be compared unto Thee³.

Pizmōn

8 O Lord, Existence, [who bringest] existence to nought⁴.

9 O Lord, for the honour of Thy name [Thou hast caused] the year [to be.]

10 O Lord, the portion of mine inheritance and my cup art Thou⁵.

Pizmōn

11 O Lord, send from above and take me⁶.

Verso :

12 O Lord, lead me whilst in this life, by Thy counsel.

13 O Lord, chasten me not in Thy hot displeasure⁷.

⁴ Read תַּתָּה "below," and in the next verse תַּשָּׁה "year," to rime with the following תַּתָּה.

⁵ Cf. Psalm xvi, 5.

⁶ Psalm xviii, 17.

⁷ Psalm vi, 2.

פֹּזֵם אַחֶרֶת

14 [ב]ל[בי] ורעיוני[?] [ובשפתי[?] רִנְנִי[?]]

15 ובקהל עם המוני ארוממך[?] יְיָ

16 ירירי בשחרים קחו נא הישרים

17 עמכם דברים ושובו אל יְיָ

פֹּזֵם בִּלְבִי

18 העם אשר רחום[?] עמ[ני][?] ולקחום

19 רעו כי אל רחום וחנן יְיָ

פֹּזֵם בִּלְבִי

20 ואחת שאלתי יבשר סלחתי

21 הנה נא הואלתי לדבר אל יְיָ

פֹּזֵם

⁸ Read אמוני and cf. II Samuel xx, 19.

⁹ Hosea xiv, 3.

Another Pizmōn

- 14 In my heart and in my thoughts and upon my lips is my rejoicing.
 15 In the congregation of my faithful people⁸, will I praise Thee O Lord.
 16 O my beloved ones, at early morn take now the righteous.
 17 [Take] with you words, and return unto the Lord⁹.

Pizmōn "In My Heart"

- 18 O people, whom [other] peoples have oppressed and taken captive,
 19 Know that gracious and full of compassion is the Lord¹⁰.

Pizmōn "In My Heart"

- 20 One favor I ask, Speak the word¹¹ "I have forgiven¹²."
 21 Behold now, I have taken it upon me to speak unto the Lord¹³.

¹⁰ Psalm cxi, 4.

¹¹ Read תבשר.

¹² Numbers xiv, 20.

¹³ Genesis xviii, 27

XXI. LETTER

Paper $7 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Arabic in peculiar, perhaps Maghribī¹, cursive Hebrew characters, at times difficult to read. The last line, and two words elsewhere, are in Arabic characters.

Recto:

1 יא מולאי וסירי אדאם אללה עֵוֶךְ ואטאל מדתך כתבתה לילה אלאחד
 2 ען שוק לא יעלמה גיר אללה תעאלי וחצרתנא סכאפה פי דלך אלשכין
 3 אלדי פי עלמך איצא ולעמרך פקד קצדת פיה איצא מרכזה וחכימא
 4 ברמזא וקצדת איצא פיה אלחו . פאפהם ואנצ' עלי כל מא תראה
 5 מתפצלֵאֵ ואלפיל אביאֵ ואלה לם יִרְדֵּי יעמי אלוֹאֵן ולכנה יצל אליך
 6 אן שא אללה עלי כל האל פלא תנעל אלי דלך באלֵא
 7 ואקרא מולאי וסירי סלאמא גזילא חסב שוקי וסוקי נחוה
 8 ויכתין באעלאה מֵ יצחק בן רֵ עבדיה וצדיקנא צאחב אל
 9 שרטה אבן עזֹור ואבן אברהים בן שבת ומֵ יצחק בן קרשאנת
 10 וסאיר אלאכואן תם עלי מולאי מעאדאֵ
 11 وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَبَرَكَاتُهُ

Margin:

וכתבת עלי חפז שריר פערדני אלי פצל מולאי

Verso:

אלחכם אלאגל אלריים אלאכמל רב חלפון הלוי נרו

¹ "Letters in a similar script I have come across in Bodleian MS. Heb. c. 28; 51 r. (addressed to a certain Abū Sa'īd); in Bodleian MS. Heb. d. 66, No. 80, as well as in a letter belonging to the collection of the Paris Consistoire (No. VII, E. 24)—which the Grand Rabbin M. Israel Lévi was kind enough to send to me—sent by a certain Hayyim Ibn Hānī of Ispahan. Evidently, the last had made use of a Maghribī scribe while, probably, in Morocco." (Professor Gottheil.)

² I.e. "you." "I do not wish to bias you."

[illegible]

XXI. LETTER

A polite and elegant letter from an unnamed person to the ra'īs, Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, who may be one of those mentioned in Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 232, 237; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xix, pp. 730, 733.

Recto :

- 1 O my Lord and Master! May God continue your strength and lengthen your life! I have written [this] on Saturday night
- 2 with the wish [that] none but God Most High should instruct him². Well, we have suffered a loss³ in this individual.
- 3 as you also know. For, by your life, you also sought in him a support, and a wise man
- 4 among [the] wise⁴. And you also sought in him.....But understand, and close your eyes to all that you see,
- 5 if you will be so kind⁵. And the elephant—God keep him!—did not wish to give colors; but he will reach you,
- 6 if it please God, in any case⁶. So give no thought to that matter.
- 7 And I greet my Lord and Master becomingly, according to my desire and my inclination toward him.
- 8 And this applies in the highest degree to Master Isaac, son of Rabbi Obadiah, and our friend, the Chief of the
- 9 Police, Ibn 'Azūr (?), and Abū Abraham Ibn Shbt, and Master Isaac Kṛshānt,
- 10 and the rest of the brethren. Then [greetings] to my Master once more,
- 11 and the Mercy of God Most High, and His Blessing!

Margin :

And I have written in great haste⁷, so excuse me to his Excellency, my Master.

Verso :

[To] the Most Glorious Judge, the Most Perfect Chief, Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī.

³ حَضَرَتْنَا سَخَافَةً. ⁴ حَكِيمًا بِرُؤْمَاءَ.

⁵ مُتَقَصِّلًا.

⁶ Quite plainly written. Is this a reference to some person? Cf. p. 18, note 1.

⁷ I.e. حَفْءَ.

XXII. A BUSINESS LETTER

Paper $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters, like those of III, XII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, all very difficult to read because of the levelling of many letters to the same form. The writer relied upon muscular sensation, more than upon sight. When the connection is lost reliable translation becomes impossible.

Recto:

- 1 תקדם כתאבי אליך יאכי ואלעזיו אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם תאירך
- 2 ונעמתיך ואעלמתיך פיה חאל בוציר וגמהא ותעבהא ואנה
- 3 בלד אנ כתיר אלשגב ואלתעב ולי חלפת לך אני מן יום אנ וצלל
- 4 מן הבית לא ליל ולא נהאר לכתב צאדק וקד אסתכדת אל
- 5 ואנפדת לך עדל כתאן פי עטארי אליאזור מכתוב [עליה]
- 6 יצחק בן כלף וליס עליך פיה כרי אקבצה ווגהת [אליך]
- 7 עדלין מכתוב עליה חסון אבן יצחק ועטא בן יעקוב
- 8 וקד סאלת סידי אבי אלחסן סלאמה פי דפועהא מעהם ואחרארהא
- 9 אלי אסכנדריה פי גמלתהם תתפצל תקף מעהם ותעאונהם
- 10 פי דלך ועדל פי גמלתי מכתוב עליה נסים בן בנאיה נחת
- 11 פי גמלתי ולם יבקא עלי פי אלגמיע אגרה אעלמך בדלך
- 12 וקד סאלתיך פי אכר חסאבי פי אלזית ותדפע אלתימן אלי
- 13 אבן אל רקי ארגו אנך פעלת דלך תבלג סידי אבי אלפצל אבן
- 14 עמראם אלסלם ותקול לה לם באללה אשתרי פי בוציר
- 15 לרוחי סוא ג אעדאל כתאן לאן אלבלד פיה אלג[יראן]תקול

1 تَائِدَكَ.

2 Cf. Yākūt, *sub voce* بَوَصِير, vol. i, p. 760, who says it is the name of four towns in Egypt: (1) near Eshmunēn, (2) near Gizeh, (3) in the Fayyūm, (4) near Samanūd. It might be Taposiris Magna, near Alexandria, now called Abūšīr.

3 غَمَّهَا. The reference is possibly to persecution of Jews.

4 اُن used as a relative with indefinite antecedent, as in No. IX, *recto*, l. 11; *verso*, l. 35; bottom of *verso*, l. 3.

5 אָן here is אַן in the sense of German "da": "Seit dem Tage da ich..."

6 בית המקדש.

[illegible]

XXII. A BUSINESS LETTER

A letter from Ḥasan (or Ḥassūn) Ibn Isaac to his "brother and friend," Abū Joseph Malūl(?) Ibn Moses, dealing in flax or linen.

The Jews are having trouble in Būṣīr where flax from France(?) is sold. Directions are given about various business operations.

On the *verso* are notes in two other hands about bales of flax or linen. They may not refer to the contents of the *recto*.

Recto :

- 1 My letter goes to you, dear Brother. May God prolong your existence and lengthen your safety¹
- 2 and well-being! I [beg to] inform you in it of the condition of Būṣīr² and its pain³ and travail; and that it is
- 3 a city⁴ of great trouble and travail. And as for me: I swear to you that I, from the day when⁵ I arrived
- 4 from Jerusalem⁶, neither night nor day [have had opportunity] to write⁷. [What I say is] true! And I secured the.....
- 5 and I sent to you a bale⁸ of flax with 'Aṭṭārī⁹ al-Yāzūrī, on which was written:
- 6 "Isaac Ibn Khalf." You have no charges to pay in the matter. Accept it. And I sent [you]
- 7 two bales on which was written: "Ḥassūn Ibn Isaac" and "'Aṭā' Ibn Jacob" [respectively].
- 8 And I asked Abū al-Ḥasan Salāmah to deliver¹⁰ them¹¹ with them¹², and to bring them¹¹
- 9 to Alexandria in their shipment¹³. Please show them [every] attention and help them¹²
- 10 in this [matter]. And [I sent you] a bale in my shipment¹³ on which was written: "Nissīm Ibn Banāyah".....
- 11 in my shipment¹³. And there remain no charges against me for any of it. Of this I inform you [explicitly].
- 12 And I asked you in the latter part of my accounting concerning the oil, [to] pay the price [of it] to
- 13 Ibn al-Raḡḡī. I hope you have done this. Convey [to] Abū al-Faḍl Ibn
- 14 'Umrān [my] greetings; and say to him: "By Allah, I shall not buy in Būṣīr
- 15 for myself [anything] but three bales⁸ of flax. Because the neighbors¹⁴ in the city say(?)

7 لِكْتُبِ. 8 أَعْدَالٌ - عَدْلٌ.

⁹ Or "my grocer."

¹⁰ דפעהא דפועהא.

¹¹ I.e. the bales.

¹² I.e. the addressees in person.

¹³ جَمَلَةٌ.

¹⁴ I.e. "gentiles"?

16 פיה כֹּדְרוֹ כְּתָאן אֶלְפֶּרְנֶסְאֵי וְכְתָאן כְּאֵמֶל וְלִים פִּי אֶלְבֶּלֶד כְּתָאן

17 נִשְׁתַּרְיָה פְּתוּכָד עֲלֶיהָ לֹלֵא יוֹחַל וִיגִי אֵלֵי הוּן פִּינְרֶס כְּתִיר

18 וְקֶרֶת דְּנֶאנִירִי מֵעַ אֲבִי אֶלְחֶנְאֵג כְּתַב תְּבִלְגָּה סְלֶאמִי

19 וְתַעֲלָמָה בְּדֹלֶךְ וְקֶדְרָא לֵה חֶאנִיק פִּי קַעֲדֶרֶן פֶּאן פִּי

20 אֶלְבֶּלֶד . לֵאֲתָאן חֶסְנָה וְקֶדְרָא תִּמְתַּ

21 אֶלְכֵּל יִרְבֵּנָא פִּיהָא סְאֶלְמִין

Margin :

תַּעֲלָמָה | בְּגִמְיַע | דֹּלֶךְ | וְיַחֲדָר | אֵן | יַתְחַרְךְ | פִּי | הֶאֱדָא | לֵא | פִּי | אֶלְנִיל |

| בְּעֶלְמִי | מֵעָה | וְנַחְצֵל | לֵה | קֶרֶת | כְּתָאן | יִדְכֶרְנָא | פִּיהָא | אֵלֵי | |

פְּתַנְעֵלָה | יַחֲסִבְנִי | אֵלֵי | חִין | וְצוּלוֹ | וְנַחֲדָר | גִּמְיַע | אֵן | שֵׁא | אֶלְלָה

Address on verso :

לֹאכִי וְאַלְעִזִּי עֲלִי אֲבִי יוֹסֵף מְלֹל בֶּן מִן צַחְבָּה חֶסֶן

אֲבִן יִצְחָק נָע מוֹסִי

אַטְאֵל [אַלְלָה בְּקָאָה] וְאַדְאָם תֹּאֲיִדָּה

[וְנַעֲמָתָה]

Notes on verso :

בְּרַחוּן הָלַ בְּרַחוּן הָלַ עֲדַל מְ בְרַסֶּס יוֹסֵף

בְּרַחוּן מְ עֲדַל מְ בְרַסְמָה

בְּרַחוּן הָלַ

בְּרַחוּן הָמַ בְּרַחוּן הָבַ

בְּרַחוּן הָמַ בְּרַחוּן הָלַ

בְּרַחוּן צִ

בְּרַחוּן מְ

Note at left :

גְּמִלָּה מֵא עֲלֵי חֶנְאֵג

סֵת אֶלְאָף תְּחִקְצֵ

15 *قَرْنَسَا* from *قَرْنَسَاوَي* is פרנסאוי Cf. פרנסא in Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 5544, fol. 1, line 4. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 191.

16 *فَتَوَخَّذْ عَلَيْهِ لَوْلَا يَحُلْ*. 17 אַכְתָּב for כְּתָב.

18 The reference is possibly again to persecutions.

16 about it: "Take the flax of France¹⁵, and perfect(?) flax [it is]." But there is no flax in the city that
 17 we would buy. And you are blamed for it unnecessarily¹⁶. And one comes [back] here and is very sorry.
 18 And I have come to a definite agreement with Abū al-Ḥajjāj [about] my dīnārs. Write¹⁷ and convey to him my greetings,
 19 and inform him of this. For he has had.....in.....were in
 20 the city beautiful..... But all of it has come to an end. May [God] complete our benefit thereby in safety¹⁸.

Margin:

¹⁹Tell him all about this. And let him guard against being excited by this; not about the indigo.....with it. And we shall recover for him a quantity of linen about which he told us.....and have him settle with me when he arrives; and we shall.....all, if it please God.

Address on verso:

To my Brother and Friend [more powerful]²⁰ than I, Abū Joseph Malūl(?) Ibn Moses. May [God] prolong [his existence] and lengthen [his safety and prosperity!] From his friend Ḥasan(?) Ibn Isaac.

Notes on verso:

Brhōn ²¹	35	Bale	40 with address of Joseph
Brhōn	40	Bale	40 with his address
		Brhōn	35
Brhōn	45	Brhōn	25
Brhōn	45	Brhōn	35
Brhōn	90		
Brhōn	40		

Note at left:

Total of what Ḥajjāj owes:
 six thousand 990

¹⁵ Most uncertain.

²⁰ A pun on the word عَزِيز.

²¹ We do not know the vocalization of this nor its meaning. The same word occurs as a proper name twice in No. XII, lines 22 and 24. In the present case it might be بَرَّهُون, "by pledges." Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*. Nor do we know the meaning of the letters הָב, הָל, הָמ, for which of course much might be imagined. Are they numerals with the order reversed?

XXIII. NOTES ON THE BACK OF A LETTER

Paper $18\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

A strip of paper cut from a letter, upon which some ḥazzān or other person has written in a large cursive hand, as if for posting on the wall, what seems to be the first word or the first two words of certain prayers and pizmōnīm.

A peculiarity of the script is the different ways in which the letter א is written. Cf. lines 1 and 2 with lines 3 and 8.

Recto :

	אם אויב ¹	1
	אהלי רון ²	2
נפש	את זבחי ³	3
חדעי	שתיל עם [א]ל ⁴	4
	... ר ...	5
	מעונה מדונה ⁶	6
	יצרי ראשית ⁷	7
	לה חוג באתי ⁸	8
	מתרצה בת ⁹	9
	עבד ליל ¹⁰	10
	מתי ישינה ¹¹	11
	עזרי יבוא ¹²	12
	אבל אשמים ¹³	13
	און זרענו ¹⁴	14
	ול על ¹⁵	15
	ידענו רשענו ¹⁶	16
	יסודינו עפר ¹⁷	17
	הורינו חטאו ¹⁸	18
	ואמנם נשמותינו ¹⁹	19
	בלונו ²⁰ מאד	20

¹ The dots at the beginning of this line and of the following ones are in the MS.

אם חילי
מהלי דין
אם חילי
שחילי
מעשה מדונה
יצרו באשיר
להדור באר
מגבצה ב
מרי ושונה
עמרי יבא
מבטאמים
חין דעם
ידעם כשעם
יסודים עפר
הודים חטא
ומכנס שמואל
כלום מחד
החזיקים
לחידה
נישכענו
יחלחלו
שנרנו ילדי
מכונת
למחר
מחלקים
חילי
ניבי שעה
שמע פיל
צבי הר
דגל העבר
וחזון צב
קולם בחסו

XXIII. NOTES ON THE BACK OF A LETTER

The *verso*, in Arabic, in a very different, blacker, smaller, more regular, Hebrew hand, represents the older document from which this strip was torn before the *recto* was written upon it.

Recto :

- 1 If mine adversary.
- 2 Tents of rejoicing.
- 3 My sacrifice.
- 4 Planted with

Margin :

If thou (fem.) knowest not

- 5
 - 6 Dwelling, seat.
 - 7 First my being.
 - 8 She hath a horizon
 - 9 Gracious is the daughter [of].
 - 10 He hath made night (?).
 - 11 When
 - 12 My help cometh.
-
- 13 The grief of guilt.
 - 14 The vanity of our seed.
 - 15
 - 16 Our wickedness knoweth us.
 - 17 We are covered with dust.
 - 18 His sin hath cast us.
 - 19 And certainly our waste places.
 - 20 They have consumed us greatly.
-

² Between 3 and 4 there seems to be the Arabic sign *tashdīd*.

21 המחזיקים
 22 לא יתגדל
 23 ויעד לענות
 24 ייחלנו תנחומיך

25 שוררו ילדי
 26 אמוני

27 ללשחר
 28 אנא אלהים יי
 29 חולי
 30 ניבי שעה נא
 31 שמע פלולי
 32 צבי הר
 33 דגול העבר
 34 וחזיון נבא
 35 קומם בחסדך

Verso :

1 חתי רחמה אל כאלק
 2 טביב אלסלטאן ואב
 3 תמן מאיה דרהם
 4 ואלף פחצר אלמאל
 5 יכרג אל בנת יביעה^p
 6 כתאב יקצוד בה
 7 בשהאדת גמיע אשיאך חלב
 8 פלמא וצל ענד אל
 9 אלרדאדין אלדי לסל[טאן]
 10 יזכונה נפצו אל ר[דאדין]^p
 11 אלדי פיה אלדואב^{p p p}
 12 וראחו ומד וצל אל

³ Or "For the Morning Service." In the following we have, perhaps, the remnants of a verse :

אנא אלהים יי חולי
 ניבי שעה נא שמע פלולי

- 21 Those that strengthen.
 22 Let him not inflate himself.
 23 And he knew the bitterness.
 24 Thy consolations hearten us.

 25 my children.
 26 My faithful one (?).

 27 For the morning³.
 28 I am the Lord God.
 29
 30 Attend to the fruit [of my lips].
 31 Hear my prayer.
 32 The glory of the mountain of.
 33 Excellent is the
 34 And prophecy of a vision.
 35 Establish in Thy favor.

Verso :

- 1 till the Creator has mercy on him
 2 the physician of the Sultan, and
 3 value of a hundred dirhams
 4 and a thousand, then produce the property
 5 he goes to the girl to sell it
 6 a writing in which he purposes
 7 in testimony⁴ all⁵ the sheikhs of Aleppo
 8 and after he arrived in the presence of the
 9 the bone-setters who wait upon the Sul[tan]
 10 the bone-setters(?) diagnosed his trembling
 11 in which the animals(?) were
 12 and they went away. And the had already arrived

⁴ Line inserted in the original.

⁵ Two dots over the *ʔ* seem to stand for *fathatain*.

- 13 אלאוחד⁶ סתין דר[הם]
- 14 אלי⁷ אלכאלק ואלי
- 15 אלהקהלות⁸ ואנחנו[ו]
- 16 לפה ולמליץ ר
- 17 בשם⁹ כוח
- 18 וכסיתו ומבשרך [לא תתעלם]
- 19 תפתח ירך לו
- 20 רקם כי הוא ע
- 21 ושני בנ[י]ו ושת[י] בנותיו[ו]
- 22 ידל לעדי עד ולנ[צח נצחים]
- 23 וכן [יהי רצון]
- 24 וקר כאן פי כתאבה
- 25 קאהר ושמעה אל
- 26 ואל נפים אבן אל ס[לטאן]
- 27 וכול עלא אבן אל [סלטאן]
- 28 אבן עליק ובסו
- 29 אל צגאר אלדי מעה
- 30 מעה ומע¹⁰ צגארה
- 31 אל חסנה ושלום על

⁶ אלו אחד mistake for אלאוחד.

⁷ Two letters follow which have been crossed out.

- 13 sixty dirhams apiece....
 14 unto the Creator and the....
 15 the congregations. But we.....
 16 wrapped him up. And.....
 17 in the name..... might...⁹
 18 and cover him ; and hide not thyself from thine own flesh¹⁰.
 19 Thou wilt open Thy hand unto him.
 20 their spittle, for he.....
 21 and two of his sons and two of his daughters....
 22 he shall be weak for ever and ever.....
 23 and this was the purpose [of the writing?]....
 24 and there was in his letter.....
 25 conqueror. And the.....heard him.....
 26 and the excellent son of the S[ultan?].....
 27 and every disease of the son of the [Sultan?].....
 28 Ibn 'Ulaik, and.....
 29 the little.....which with him
 30 and they employed with him and with his little ones....
 31 the good. And Peace be upon.....

⁸ Note the Arabic and the Hebrew articles.

⁹ Lines 17-23 are in Hebrew.

¹⁰ Isaiah lviii, 7.

XXIV. CHARM

A strip of paper $15\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

It is written in cursive Hebrew characters, and contains part of a charm against all manner of diseases and distempers.

- ... 1 ודחלולי ליליא ונוסיא ואשתא וערויתא ועיק רע וקלא ומרס מעיא
 ושאלביטא ושוכבא ...
- ... 2 ילי סיט עלם מהש ללה אכא כהת הזי אלד לאו ההע יול מבר
 הרי הקם לאו כלי לוו פחל נלך ייי מלה תהו נתה האא ירת שאה
 ריי א ...
- ... 3 [יהו]ה צלך על יד ימינך יומם השמש לא יכבה ויריח בלילה יהוה
 ישמרך מכל רע ישמור את נפשך יהוה ישמר צתך ובאיך מעתה ועד
 [עולם] ...
- ... 4 [י]היה עמי בעגול בשם האל האדיר האמיץ הבורא הגבור הדובר משרים
 ההוד הותיק הוך המהור היחיד הקרוש ועד אני קורא את שמות מל[אכי]

¹ Ink border-lines show that the strip was never any wider. The letters ודחלולי began the first line, which is written in characters small and cramped, though hardly as an after-thought to the remaining lines.

² I.e. "spectres."

³ The form נוסיא remains unexplained, but the word is related perhaps to Aramaic נָסַם, which has been connected with Greek νόσος.

⁴ Cf. the Syriac ܕܚܠܘܠܝ.

⁵ עֵיִק רַע, but this would be mixed Hebrew and Aramaic.

⁶ I.e. "incantations." Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁷ Cf. Targum to Levit. xxi, 20.

⁸ שְׁלֵהֲבִיתָא can hardly be a corruption of שְׁלֵהֲבִיתָא "flame," although it might possibly be a similar formation from the root לבט.

XXIV. CHARM

The literature on Jewish magic is extensive. See Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, Strassburg, 1898; Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbors*, London, 1898; Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913.

1 and scare-crows of the night², and afflictions³, and fever, and ague⁴, and fear of evil⁵, and the voice⁶, and crushing of the viscera⁷, and⁸, and the Succuba⁹

2¹⁰

3 [Jehov]ah is thy shade upon thy right hand. The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night¹¹. Jehovah will keep thee from all evil. He will keep thy soul. Jehovah will keep thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth and for [evermore¹²]

4 [shall] be with me in a circle¹³. In the name of God, the Mighty, the Powerful, the Creator, the Heroic, that speaketh righteousness, the Glory, the Able, the Pure, the Spotless, the Unique, the Holy! And also I shall recite the names of the an[gels]

⁹ שוכבא may be connected with the root שכב "to lie" (sexually, of demons: cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 304). It seems actually to spell out the Latin word *succuba*, except that we should then have a ד, not a ש. At any rate, we fancy that this word is very close to the intended meaning. Amulets not uncommonly contain allusions to the *incubus-succuba* superstition.

¹⁰ Here follow the Cabbalistic names which are untranslatable. They are derived from Exodus xiv, 19-21, in such manner that the first letter of each name comes from verse 19, the middle letter from verse 20, the last letter from verse 21. The following names complete the 72: לִכְבּ וְיִשָּׁר יָחוּ לֵהָח כּוֹךְ מִנֵּד אֲנִי הָעַם רָהֵעַ יִי הָהָה מִיָּד יוֹלֵלָה סָאֵל עָרִי עֶשֶׂל : 72 מִיָּה וְהוּ דְנִי הָחֵשׁ עֶמֶס נִנָּא נִית מִבָּה פְדִי נִמֹס יִיל הָרַח מִצָּר וּמִב יִהָה עֲנוּ מַחֵי דְמִבּ מִנֵּק אִיעַ חֲבוּ רָאָה יִבֵּם הִיִּי מוֹס. (So explained by M. Chapira to Professor Gottheil.)

¹¹ Cf. Worrell, "The Demon of Noonday," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1918, xxxviii, 160 ff.

¹² Psalm cxxi, 5-8.

¹³ A magic circle. Cf. Worrell, "Ink, Oil and Mirror Gazing Ceremonies in Modern Egypt," in the same *Journal*, 1916, xxxvi, 37 ff., particularly p. 52.

XXV. A SCRAP OF PAPER

Paper about $13 \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, tapering towards the top.

Hebrew and Arabic, in cursive Hebrew characters.

This fragment is perfectly described in the introduction to our No. XXIII. It is a strip, cut from the same letter and used in the same manner.

But unfortunately it is not a part of the same leaf as No. XXIII; so that comparison gives us no help with the mutilated *verso*, nor with the sketchy *recto*.

Recto:

ם	1
_____	2
ם תש	3
ה . . . צועק	4
חסין יה	5

מה לך בן אדם	6

שובו נה	7
איך תמן	8
ב אדמה	9
רצו ילדי	10
הלכו גודר	11
מות פין סהר	12
בבית סהר	13
מך בעלה	14
ערום בא	15
זוריע שוא	16
רוח איש בלבו	17
היכלי עונג	18
חוק נתן לבי	19
זה סוף כל האדם	20
קדוש כבוד שם	21

אל חי בכר	22

XXV. A SCRAP OF PAPER

As we do not pretend to know what either text is about, we confine ourselves to rendering a few groups of words here and there.

The *recto* and the *verso* to line 18 seem to refer to religious matters. From line 19 of the *verso* the subject is business, and the language is Arabic.

Recto :

1

2 _____

3

4crying out

5 Strong

6 What aileth thee, son of man ?

7 Return ye.

8 As there.

9the ground

10 Consent, my children.

11 They have gone, carpenter.

12 Death...testimony(?)

13 In the house of testimony(?)

14mistress.

15 Naked he came.

16 The sower of iniquity.

17 The spirit of a man in his heart.

18 My temple is delight.

19 My heart gave a law.

20 This is the end of all mankind.

21 The Holy One has settled honor.

22 The living God in all.

23 מתי רוחות . ל

24 על רוב מעלי

Verso :

1 ש

2 עושי מ

3 מתנים חגו

4 בה . נע דלת . . . מבקש[ים]

5 יודעים לצדקה קו[וי]

6 הרבים מוציא יקי[רי]

7 לוי ממע אלי להתפאר

8 נחלתו צאן יד

9 הנרדפים

10 בכל מקומות מושב[ותיהם]

11 שיקום מכסא דין ויש

12 ולאסוף הנרחים ולש

13 ולהציל בלועים משי

14 ח . . . תו . . . תיות להוצ[יא]

15 ובין החול לקבץ הנ

16 הרחוקים כדכ ונשא נף

17 להודיע לרבותינו המ[קומות]

18 מקומות מושבותיהם

19 ב אלדי אסמה מנ[חם]

20 והוא מחושבי העיר

21 וא . . . ק או ז מן

22 פי נהדת גוז ורכאן

23 ג סנין מעה גאזי

24 וחאסבה אלדיואן וג

25 וי¹ דרהם נאצריא וקר

26 ל²ה ולצנארה ואלדי

27 לם יבקא מעה פלם

28 ז עליה תמן מאי

29 עלי אלפצלא סת א

¹ כדכתיב = כדכ¹.

² Ezek. xvii, 23.

23 When will the spirits.....

24 For the multitude of my deeds

Vertical: And when I do.

Verso:

1

2

3 gifts.....

4door...seekers.....

5 those knowing righteousness, hoping for.....

6 the great ones, producers of —, dignitaries of —.....

7 O, that I had a couch, to glorify myself.....

8 his inheritance the sheep of.....

9 the persecuted ones.....

10 in all the places where they dwell.....

11 that he arise from the chair of judgment, and.....

12 and to gather the repudiated ones.....

13 and to deliver, those swallowed up.....

14to bring out

15 and between the sand, to collect the.....

16 those that are far away, even as it is written¹: “and it shall bring forth
boughs².”

17 To make known to our teachers the places(?).....

18 their places of residence.....

19 about him whose name is M[enahem].....

20 and he is one of the honored men of³ the city.....

21

22 in.....and shop...

23 3 years with him.....

24 and the tribunal called him to account, and

25 and 17 Nāsiri⁴ dirhams.....And already.....

26 to him and to his little ones and that which...

27 did not remain with him. And not.....

28he owed the price of a hund[red].....

29 to the most excellent Sitt.....

³ For חשובי.

⁴ See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 679.

XXVI. LETTER

An irregularly shaped strip of paper, tapering a little towards the top, about $8\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic, in half-square Hebrew characters.

The script is bad, and the language used is not literary. There are several mistakes in spelling.

Recto :

1 בִּשְׁרָה לֵל
 2 יִמְרֵי יֶסֶן וְגַם אֱלֹהֵי תַעֲלָא
 3 לֹא יִבְלִינִי מִן נֹצֵר אֱלוֹד
 4 אֶלְמִבְאֶרֶךְ רִיבִי מֹשֶׁה וְאֵן
 5 יִגְמַע אֶלְשֶׁמֶל קְרִיב בְּרוֹק
 6 וְעֵאֵפִיָּה אֲמִין וְכֵן יִהְיֶה
 7 רִצֵּן: וְאֵן מִן פִּצֵּל אֱלֹהֵי
 8 וּמֵא עֵנְדָנָא מִן חֶסֶן
 9 אֶלְגִּמִּיל אֵן אֶלְשִׁיךְ אֲבוֹ
 10 אֶלְחֶסֶן פִּי הָאֵל אֶלְסִלְאֵמָה
 11 וְאֶלְעֵאֵפִיָּה מִן פִּצֵּל אֱלֹהֵי
 12 יִתְבַּרֵּךְ שְׁמוֹ וְלֹא תִשְׁגַּל
 13 קִלְבֶּךָ וְהוּא טֹלֵב אֵן יִכְתֹּב
 14 לֶךְ אֶלְכֶתָאֵב בִּידָה וְאֵמָה
 15 כְּשִׁיתָאֵן אֵן יִפְתַּכֵּר
 16 פִּי וְצִעֵף וְלֹא תִשְׁגַּל
 17 קִלְבֶּךָ מִן גִּהַת הַבֵּתָה
 18 וְהוּא פִּי עֵאֵפִיָּה בְּכָל
 19 נַעֲמָה וְהוּא בִּיִסְקִי נַפְסָה

¹ یَحْلِينِي.

² The text is perfectly plain here. Perhaps "progeny."

³ Must refer to the preceding word "boy" or "child" rather than to the following "Rabbi Moses." ⁴ "Rabbi."

⁵ We should have عَنْ قَرِيب in either literary or colloquial Arabic.

⁶ "grace."

⁷ This phrase is in Hebrew.

⁸ "busy."

[illegible]

XXVI. LETTER

It is a letter written to a certain Rabbi Moses in the name of an old man, Abū al-Ḥasan.

There is no information in it. It is purely "une lettre de politesse."

Recto :

- 1 good news (?).
- 2 God the Exalted
- 3 will not deprive me¹ of the help of the boy²,
- 4 the blessed³ Ribbi⁴ Moses, and that
- 5 he order his affairs soon⁵ with prosperity
- 6 and health⁶. Amen! Thus be
- 7 the will [of God]⁷! And that by the grace of God
- 8 and whatever we have in the way of beauty of
- 9 behaviour⁶. Verily the Sheikh Abū
- 10 al-Ḥasan is in a condition of prosperity
- 11 and health, by the grace of God,
- 12 blessed be His Name⁷! So do not trouble⁸
- 13 your heart. He⁹ sought¹⁰ to write
- 14 to you the letter with his [own] hand, but
- 15 like a devil¹¹ he [only?] thought
- 16 about it¹²; and he did not do it. But do not trouble⁸
- 17 your heart about his gift
- 18 since he is in good health⁶, in all
- 19 well-being, and he is treating himself¹³

⁹ I.e. the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan.

¹⁰ The use of طلب in this sense is most unusual. We should expect اراد or قصد.

¹¹ Probably a forgotten twelfth century vulgarism. A شيطان now-a-days in Egypt is a "clever fellow," full of tricks. In the text we have ن instead of ط.

¹² ط the vulgar fī or fih for fīhi.

¹³ בִּישָׁי has the bi- prefix of the present tense imperfect in vulgar Arabic. Cf. Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 193, 203. اُسقى is used in three ways: (1) Of filling a cup with wine, or other drink. (2) Of watering cattle. (3) Of irrigating the soil. I think we might translate "is watering himself," "is soaking himself." Abū al-Ḥasan is taking a lot of this medicine, or he is enjoying it, or both, if we are not mistaken.

20 אלוּצֶפָה וּתְפַצֵּל אֵל

21 וְצִיָּה בְנִפְסָךְ וְאַלְלָהָ ^[מֵא]

22 [א]חַתָּנָה אֵלָא לְקַלְבְּנָא

23 . . . ד . . מִן גַּהַת

24 נִפְשֶׁךְ וּבְאַלְלָהָ מֵא

25 אַחַתָּאג אֻצִּיךְ פִּי

26 אֻצִּיָּה וּבְנִפְסָךְ

27 וְשָׁלוֹם

Verso :

1 אֶלְכַתְּ [אב] אֶלְאֶכֶר

2 אֶבּוּךְ אֶלְשִׁיךְ אֶבִּי

3 אֶלְחַסֵּן יִכְתְּבָהּ הוּא

4 אֶלְלָהָ יִצְלַחֵם

5 לְךָ אֶלְמוֹס

6 וְאַלְמָסִי צַחְבִּי וְחַמְלוּ

7 אֶלְכַתְּ [א]ב

¹⁴ وَصَفَةٌ is the regular term for a prescription.

¹⁵ אֵל for 'al for عَلَى آل as in modern vulgar Arabic.

20 to the prescription¹⁴. And pray [attend] to¹⁵
 21 the order in your own person. By Allah! Not
 22 have I needed [to do any more] than to.....
 23on account of
 24 yourself¹⁶, and, by Allah, not
 25 do I need to direct you in regard to
 26 the commission and yourself.
 27 Greeting!

Verso :

1 The other letter.
 2 Your father, the Sheikh Abū¹⁷
 3 al-Ḥasan will write, he
 4God restore them!
 5to you.....the.....
 6 and the..... is my master (?) and they carried
 7 the letter.

¹⁴ ש here instead of ם. The writer has Hebrew נפש in mind.

¹⁷ אבוי for ابو. Uneducated people, in attempting to be correct, change the vulgar ابو to ابي even where it is not needed.

XXVII. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, water-marked with a mailed torso.

Arabic in half-square Hebrew characters.

A letter from Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī, in Jerusalem, to Abū Yahyā Nurāi Ibn Nissīm, in Fustāt (Cairo). It is a prolix epistle, taking up the margins as well as the body of the page and a half upon which it is written.

Abū Zubair is a man of poor health, narrow life, and many troubles. His family was originally from Morocco or some one of the other Barbary States. He writes Arabic, in Hebrew letters—as Jews have done with many languages—but in such a manner as to betray his familiarity with the Arabic script and orthography. His language is no doubt the slightly

Recto:

1 וצל כתאב מולאי אלשיך אמאל אללה בקאה ואדאם סלאמתה וסעאדתה
אמם

2 יומי הדא [ו] חו' איאם בקין מן אלול אעאד אללה עליה הדה אל מועדיים
אלמקבלה

3 סנין טאילה וגעלהא עליה מימונה מבארכה בקבול אלתורה ואל מ[צו]ה
ואשהדנא

4 לה בנים וזכרים לחיים וכאן וצולה בעד אשתיאק עניי ווקפת מנה עלי
מא אמרצני

5 ואקלקני ואפגעני מן אלגזירה אלכבירה ואלפגעה אלעטימה אלתי הרת
קואנא מן

6 ופאה אלסייד אלפאצל עטרת ראשינו ברוך ריין האמת שופט בצדק
ואמת וכאן

7 הדא אלסבת ענדי וענד אהלי מתל סבת תשעה באב ומא וגדנא עזא
לקלובנא

8 גיר אנה אלול לנא נחן אלדי עשנא להדה אלמצאיב ונשרבו הדה
אלאכואם

9 אל מרה וקר עמית אבצארנא ואנקטעת קואנא ונחן באכיין עליה טול
חיאנתא

¹ אמון סלה = אמם?

² طويلة for טאילה.

³ גזירה is Hebrew.

GENIZAH FRAGMENT 27 a

[illegible]

سازمان امور مالیاتی
اداره کل امور مالیاتی

شماره پرونده : ۱۳۸۵ / ۲۰۴۷
تاریخ : ۱۳۸۵ / ۰۶ / ۰۵

موضوع : درخواست استعفاء از پرداخت جریمه تأخیر در تسلیم اظهارنامه مالیاتی

اینجانب به موجب این سند اعلام می‌دارم که به دلیل اشتباه در محاسبه و تسلیم اظهارنامه مالیاتی، جریمه تأخیر در تسلیم اظهارنامه را پرداخت کرده‌ام. خواهشمند است با توجه به اینکه این جریمه صرفاً ناشی از اشتباه بوده و قصد فرار از پرداخت مالیات نداشته‌ام، نسبت به استعفاء از پرداخت آن اقدام نمایید.

با تشکر و احترام
[نام و نام خانوادگی]

XXVII. LETTER

classicised vernacular of his own day. It already exhibits many of the peculiarities of the spoken Arabic of modern Cairo. The difficult passages are no doubt in the slang of his time. Other peculiarities, such as the occasional omission of the article, the redundant "it," the strange use of *على* and other prepositions, and of common verbs, are not so easily explained. He is especially prone to mix forms and turns of expression while putting them on paper.

Unfortunately the letter bears no date. It was written, however, before 1050–1098, when the addressee died.

Below the address there is a line of Arabic script which cannot be made out.

Recto :

- 1 The letter of my Lord the Sheikh has come. May God lengthen his existence and prolong his health and his happiness! Amen! Selah¹!
 - 2 Today—and there are six days remaining of Elul—May God add unto him these feast-days that are to come
 - 3 for many² years! And may He make them for him fortunate and blessed in the acceptance of the Law and the Commandment! And we wish
 - 4 for him [that he shall have] living male offspring! The arrival [of the letter] occurred after [we] poor ones had yearned for it, and had been deprived of it by delay, in addition to my having been made ill
 - 5 and uneasy and sad by the great calamity³ and the heavy affliction which has crushed our strength⁴: namely the
 - 6 death of the excellent master⁵, the Crown of our Head. Blessed be the honest judge who judges in righteousness and truth! This
 - 7 Sabbath Day has been, with me and with my people, like the Sabbath Day falling upon the Ninth of Ab⁶; and we have not found any strength for our spirits.
 - 8 [We are conscious of nothing] save that we are victims of calamity, we who have lived to [see] these misfortunes. And these bitter
 - 9 cups⁷ have been drained, and our sight has been blinded, and our strength cut off; and we shall continue to weep for him as long as we live.
-

¹ قَوَانَا = قَوَانَا plural of قُوَّة with suffix.

² Identity not established.

⁶ When Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the First Temple, and when Titus destroyed the Last Temple, according to Jewish tradition.

⁷ An unusual plural of كَأْس.

- 10 ולא עזא בעדה ווחק הדא אלקדם לקד מראר כתירה נתמנא אלמות
ונשתהיה וצרת
- 11 ממן קיל פיה המחכים למות ואינינו ויחפרוהו ממטמונים ממה אקאסיה
מן המום
- 12 הרה אלדניא וכתרה פגעאתהא ועטים מצאיבהא ומקאסאת אהלהא אלדי
אנקטעת
- 13 מנרם אלאמאנה ותבת פיהם אבדה האמונה ונכרתה מפיהם ומא בקי
אלא מן יאכר
- 14 מאלך באל יד ואנת תנטר מנה ואענב כל עגיב אן אסחק חפטה אללה
בעד צברנא
- 15 עליה אל יום י' שהור מצא לקברי אבות ואשתרא קמח כשקאק כאנת
מעה ועניות
- 16 וולף קמח יצלה למחלה יסוי דינר ותלת אלקפיו וקלת' אנא נאכדה מנך
בדינר וי'
- 17 וקאל מא אביע ואדכל אל קמח לדארה ונחן וקוף הדא כאן אכר אלצבר
ומא יערף
- 18 לי מעה גיר הדא כל דרהם יוחל לי ענדה מא אאכדה אלא עלי אל שרור
משלמי
- 19 רעה תחת טובה אללה תעאלי יכאפי כל ואחר בנייתה וסאעת כתאבי
גרה הדא ופק
- 20 אללה קפיוזין קמח מתל קרין אלדנניר בג' דנניר ורבע ואנא ארצד איצא
שי אכר
- 21 פלא ישגל מולאי קלבה וקד חצלת להם אלחטב ואלוית וגמיע מא יחתאנו
אליה

⁸ With only one 1.

⁹ This quotation, Job iii, 21, is in Hebrew, as indicated by the overlining in the manuscript and in our text. All Hebrew words are thus marked.

¹⁰ Jeremiah vii, 28.

¹¹ In the Arabic form.

¹² I.e. to pay a debt?

¹³ "Graves of the Fathers" are probably Hebron, though we can not find any other instance of this title. At Hebron the "Fathers," Adam, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were supposed to be buried. The vicinity is fruitful, and one might have bought grain there perhaps. Cf. Baedeker, *Palästina u. Syrien*, 1910, pp. 105 ff.

¹⁴ Or "grain" merely.

¹⁵ شِقَاق plural of شِقَّة "strips, shavings," etc.

- 10 There is no strength now that he is gone. By⁸ this Jerusalem! Many times we have desired death and longed for it. And I have become
 11 one of those concerning whom it is said⁹: "Who long for death, but it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hidden treasures," because of what I endure in the way of cares of
 12 this world and the multitude of its sorrows, and the might of its calamities, and the hard-heartedness of its people from whom sincerity
 13 has been cut off. And concerning them [the saying]¹⁰ holds: "Truth is perished, and is cut off from their mouth." And nothing remains now but that someone should take
 14 your property by force, while you look the other way. Most wonderful of wonders! Isaac¹¹—God keep him!—after we had waited
 15 for him¹² these ten months, went off to Kibhrē Abhōth¹³, and bought wheat¹⁴ in which was [something] like chaff (?)¹⁵ and.....¹⁶
 16 and collected¹⁷ wheat¹⁴ suitable for his place, worth a dīnār and a third the ḳafiz. And I said: "We will take it off your hands for a dīnār and 10 [carats the ḳafiz]¹⁸."
 17 But he said: "I am not selling." And he put the wheat into his house, while we were standing by¹⁹. This was the extremity of [our] patience. And nothing is known
 18 to me about²⁰ him except this: Not a dirham which he owes²¹ me and has in his possession shall I take except [as] against the base "that render
 19 evil for good²²." God—He is exalted!—requites every man according to his intention! But the hour of this writing has elapsed²³. May
 20 God make suitable²⁴ two ḳafiz of grain as the equivalent of the return of the dīnārs²⁵, at three dīnārs and a quarter²⁶. But I am also looking out for something else.
 21 But let not my Lord worry. For they have received the fuel-wood, and the olive oil and everything they need,

¹⁶ עֲנִיּוֹת Hebrew. It was very poor wheat?

¹⁷ وَلَفَّ for أَلَفَ. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, ii, p. 892.

¹⁸ If the carat is one twenty-fourth of the dīnār (cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 195, n. 13), Isaac bought the grain at $1\frac{1}{3}$ dīnārs and was offered $1\frac{5}{12}$ dīnārs, or two carats more than the cost. They wished to shame him into paying them on the spot when he received the cash from them. The dīnār is, of course, at this time the large gold coin, and not the denarius.

¹⁹ A confusion of mind as between وَنَحْنُ وَاقِفِينَ and بَوَقُوفُنَا.

²⁰ مَعَ does not usually have this meaning.

²¹ يَحِلُّ. ²² Psalm xxxviii, 20.

²³ "My letter has become long enough." Then he makes it four times as long.

²⁴ وَفَّقَ.

²⁵ The modern *dānanīr* for دنانير. Cf. Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 2nd ed., pp. 8, 80, 81.

²⁶ I.e. for two ḳafiz, or 1.625 dīnārs the ḳafiz. He offered Isaac only $1\frac{5}{12}$ before.

- 22 מתל בצל ומלח וגיר דלך ואנא פארח בכל האגה תערין להם וקבצו מני
גיר דלך
- 23 ג דנניר עיון למהמאתהם ומא יעוזהם מעי האגה ופי אכתר אלאוקאת
אמצי אלי אל
- 24 דאר ואסאלהם לעל האגה וקר כאן אקאמו פי אל דאר אלתי גולו פיהא
אול וצולהם
- 25 שחר כאמל מע אם אבו יוסף ומע אל שיק אל שראבי אלתי תזוג אבנה
בנת אלבלוטי
- 26 וכאנו עלי אנהם יכתריו דאר בגואר אל כניסיה לאנסאן מסלם בה דנניר
סנה כאמלה
- 27 ויקבצאה קבול אל דכול פלמא ח'צרנא אל ה דנניר קאל סתה דנניר מא
נחט שי צעב
- 28 עליי אלאמר פלמא אנבנא אלי אל סתה טלב יגיב עלילות מן וגוה אכר
תרכנאהא
- 29 ואכתרינא חגירה לאמראה יהודיה בדינרין אלי אלמחרם ה שחור והי
חגרה בגואר
- 30 אצחאבנא פיהא גמיע חואיגהא ואל חמאם בגוארהא פי הארה אל יהוד
קריבה מן אל
- 31 כניסיה ואל רבאעיה מא אקוא אצף מא עמלתה פי אמרהא ולם אתרך
תאגר ולא
- 32 צואף ולא בזאו עלי מן אערצאהא ואנבאע מנהא לט רבעי אלזון ה דנניר
ותמן

27 *حاجة* "thing" is modern Egyptian colloquial. In l. 20 he has used the classical and Palestinian *شي*.

28 *قبضوا* "grabbed," but in the dialect of Cairo, "received." This is still Isaac's case, we take it.

29 *مع*. Cf. note 20.

30 The relative pronoun is feminine but the verb is masculine. The writer has both the mother of Abū Yūsuf and the Sheikh al-Sharābī in mind, but he means the latter.

31 *יכתריו* is colloquial, from *כרי*. The *י* is merely a graphic reminiscence of the singular.

32 *כניסיה* here and in l. 31, not *כניסה* but *كنيسة* (Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 493), the Spanish (15th century), Moroccan and Tunisian form of the same word. Is this the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? Perhaps we are to read *كنيسة* and understand the "Place of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."

33 "belonging to."

34 *قبول* for *قبول*.

- 22 such as onions, and salt and other things. And I am rejoiced at every-
thing²⁷ that turns up for them. And they have received²⁸ from me in
addition
- 23 three dinārs cash for their pressing needs. And they do not need any-
thing from²⁹ me. And at most times I go out to the
- 24 house and ask them whether [they] need [anything]. And they have
remained in the house in which they stayed when they first arrived—
- 25 a full month—with the mother of Abū Yūsuf and with the Sheikh al-
Sharābī who married³⁰ his son to the daughter of al-Ballūṭī.
- 26 And, although they had rented³¹ a house in the vicinity of the Church³²,
from³³ a Muslim man for five dinārs for a whole year,
- 27 and he was to receive the money before³⁴ we took possession. But when
we had brought the five dinārs, he said: "Six dinārs! We shan't make
it less³⁵." The matter was
- 28 hard for me³⁶. And when we had agreed to the six, he sought³⁷ to
bring³⁸ troubles from other directions. We dropped the matter.
- 29 And we hired a little room³⁹ of³³ a Jewish woman for two dinārs until
[the month of] al-Muḥarram—five months. And it is a room, in the
neighbourhood
- 30 of our friends, in which are all things necessary to it. And the bath is in
the neighbourhood of it in the Jewish Quarter, near to the
- 31 Church³² and the Rubā'iyah⁴⁰. I cannot describe⁴¹ what I have done in
regard to it. And I neglected no tradesman
- 32 nor wool-merchant, nor cloth-merchant—according to whoever offered
[things] for sale⁴². And there were sold from it⁴³ 39 quarters⁴⁴ of a
wazn⁴⁵ [for] eight dinārs, and [the] price

³⁵ مَا نَحْطُ شَيْئًا *ma naḥuṭṭshe* from classical *ma naḥuṭṭshe* is colloquial *ma naḥuṭṭshe* from classical *ma naḥuṭṭshe* "we shall not lower at all."

³⁶ عَلَى is *عَلَى* with *ع* is regularly represented by *ي*.

³⁷ طَلَب in this sense is found in No. XXVI, *recto*, l. 13.

³⁸ ب. and جَاء جَاب colloquial root *جَاب*.

³⁹ حَجِيرَةٌ diminutive of *حَجَرَةٌ*. The writer has hired this for himself.

⁴⁰ The "fourfold" or "quadrilateral" place, but not "city square" to our knowledge. Perhaps this name was applied to the site of the Mediaeval lodgings and hospitals of the Knights of St John, which passed into the hands of the Moslems in 1187, and became known as the Mūrīstān. The room in question was probably in the block of buildings between the present Hārat Bab al-Silsileh, Tārīḳ Bab al-Silsileh and Sūḳ al-Laḥḥāmīn.

⁴¹ أَصْف is *أَصْف* from *وصف* without the *أَنَّ* as in modern vernacular. Cf. l. 49, and other instances.

⁴² عَلَى مَا أَعْرَضَهَا makes no sense. Perhaps it is a confusion between *عَلَى مَا أَعْرَضَهَا* "according to what they offered for sale," and *عَلَى مَنْ أَعْرَضَ* "according to whoever presented himself." The writer of the letter is subject to these confusions.

⁴³ I.e. this room, which seems to have been used as a shop.

⁴⁴ رُبْع is *رُبْع* with a connecting vowel.

⁴⁵ The wazn seems to be here a definite weight.

- 33 סער כ דרהם כל דינר מן צרף לו דרה ונין מנהם קום דפעו לי רהן ומנהם קום
- 34 דפעו אלבעין ובקי ענדהם אלבעין וקד לחקהא כצרה מן אל תחמיר אלתי חמרת פי
- 35 מצר וזונת עלי הדה אלבקייה אלתי תבקת דרהם ונצף למן עאודהא באלתחמיר והי
- 36 באקיה ואנא אתהוד פי אמרהא פסבחאן מן אסקט נגמהא ואמא אל צרה אלתי כאנת
- 37 ענדי קד מרח אללה פיהא אלמארה ומא גמע אללה מנהא דינר עאמלת מנהא באל בעין
- 38 פי סבסתאן וצמג לוו וגאסול וקללות מא לא ימכנני ולא יתסע צדרי לדכרה וכל מא
- 39 אכתב הדה אלכתאב אתנהוד פלעל אל מות אקרר וקד סרני מא דכרה מן וצול אל מראכב
- 40 סאלמה לצקליה ותופיקהא פי אלבצאיע ואנא ארגב למולאי יערפני אסמא אל קום
- 41 אלואצלין פי מרכב אל אנדלס וכדלך כל מרכב יגי יערפני בגמיע אלאכבאר

Margin :

כאנני משאהד להא | ולעל יגיני כתאב מן צקליה או מן אי | מוצע כאן ואלוי
אלאן מא וצל נזא אלגלאם | אללה יכתב עליה אלסלאמה | וכאן וצל אלוי
כתאב מולאי אל | שיך מגר מדה ידבר אנה קבין אלכראים אלתי כאנת
לי ענר ר | ישועה חרסה אללה ווצל מנהא לר ישראל כראסתין | אלתי
פיהא אצול אלקדוק לינסכהא למולאי פלמא כתבת | לה חרסה אללה

⁴⁶ The writer sold 39 quarter wazns for 8 dinārs, or 292 dirhams, which was at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams the quarter, or $29\frac{3}{4}$ dirhams the wazn. After he had sold out at about 30 dirhams, the price sank to 20 dirhams the wazn.

⁴⁷ The vernacular *nusf* for نَصْف.

⁴⁸ خُضْرَة "greenness."

⁴⁹ حَمَرَتْ, حَمَرْت, and تَحْمِير, תחמיר, have ח for خ which is very unusual and must point to a dialectic peculiarity.

⁵⁰ תבקי, confusion between تَبَقَى and بَقِيَتْ (vernacular *baḳat*).

33 became 20 dirhams⁴⁶, every dīnār being by exchange 36 dirhams and a half⁴⁷. And⁴⁸ of the [buyers] some people paid me [with] a note, and of them some people
 34 paid a part, and a part remained with them [unpaid for]. And mouldi-
 ness⁴⁸ had attacked it in consequence of the fermentation⁴⁹ which had developed in
 35 Egypt. And I weighed out, in addition to this remainder which re-
 mained⁵⁰ [in their possession, unpaid for], a dirham and a half to such
 as brought it back⁵¹ in a fermented condition, while it
 36 remained [in their possession, unpaid for]. And I am diligent in this
 matter. But Praise to Him who made its star to sink⁵²! And as for
 the row which occurred
 37 at my place: God has taken away its bitterness⁵³. And where God has
 made [me] to profit⁵⁴ from it⁵⁵ by a dīnār, I have done business by
 means of it⁵⁵ partly
 38 in prunes⁵⁶ and gum-arabic, almonds and soap⁵⁷ and earthen pots⁵⁸—
 such as I am unable, and am not in the mood⁵⁹, to mention. For even as
 39 I write this letter, I sigh: "Perhaps death is very near⁶⁰." But I was
 pleased by what it⁶¹ said about the arrival of the ships
 40 safely in Sicily, and their success with the cargoes. And I desire of my
 Lord that he inform me of the names of the people
 41 arriving in the Spanish ship; and likewise, [of] every ship which comes
 let him inform me of all the news,

Margin:

as though I were an eye-witness of it. And perhaps there may come to me a letter from Sicily, or from some place or other. But up to the present [news of] the escape of the youth has not reached me. May God decree "safety" for him! And there arrived to me the letter of my Lord the Sheikh a little while ago, mentioning that he had got the pamphlets which belonged to me [and were] with Rabbi Joshua—May God keep him! And of these there reached Rabbi Israel two pamphlets in which were the elements of [Hebrew] grammar, for him to copy off for my Lord. And after I had

⁵¹ עֲאֻדָּהּ, confusion between עֲאֻדָּהּ "came back complaining," and אֲעֻדָּהָ or אֲעֻדָּהָ "brought it back."

⁵² I.e. made the price to sink; or, caused the matter to be forgotten.

⁵³ מִרָּאָה, an error for מִרָּאָה. ⁵⁴ יָצָא is יָצָא?

⁵⁵ We doubt that the writer has anything in mind when he uses "it" so carelessly.

⁵⁶ סִבְסְתָּאן. Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 625.

⁵⁷ גִּאסוּל is גִּאסוּל "cleanser."

⁵⁸ קִלְלוֹת, perhaps a feminine plural of the masculine noun קִלְלָה.

⁵⁹ יָחַסַּע is יָחַסַּע from יָחַסַּע "my breast is not expanded, I am not happy enough, to..."

⁶⁰ I.e. "Oh that death were near!"

⁶¹ I.e. the letter he has received from Egypt.

written to him—May God keep him!—taking him to task⁶² about [not] sending them, there arrived to me his letter, saying: “Inform me of what they are, so that I may write about them to Alexandria.” So, I don’t know what to make of this⁶³; for his letter is [on file] with me that all of them reached him, and to the effect that he would send them to me with whomever left [there for here]. But I am tired⁶⁴. I shall not write about it. But they are eight pamphlets⁶⁵, among them [some treating of debatable] questions—in my own hand-writing—[namely:] by Rabbi Samuel on “A woman, Possessor of a Soothsaying Spirit⁶⁶,” and “The She-Ass⁶⁷,” and “The Serpent⁶⁸”(?) and many questions. And [there is] a pamphlet in which.....Lamentations, and a pamphlet in which [there is] the story of the.....⁶⁹.....other, not.....and the pamphlet.....and the.....to Rabbi Israel for him to copy them. And, by the Love⁷⁰! May my Lord the Sheikh dispel⁷¹ this care from me! And we were pleased⁷² at the success of the.....⁷³ May God increase the profits by means of it, and guide us aright and all Israel! And as for us in this country, we do not think there will be⁷⁴ any enormous⁷⁵ relief⁷⁶ in grain. And they have added profiteering⁷⁷ to [shortage]. May God make favorable the outcome, or else⁷⁸ [grant at least] subsistence!

Verso:

- 1 And up to the present Rabbi Nathan has not arrived from Damascus, because he went away with Rabbi Isaac. He said to him: “Go away with me
- 2 and I will give you the third of what I make.” And as for what he says—God keep him!—that I should write at his wife’s expense
- 3 two or three⁷⁹ amulets: I am expecting the arrival of Rabbi Nathan, and I shall do in this matter more than he could desire. And as for Rabbi Isaac,
- 4 he is in good health. And let no one doubt what he has said—God keep him from his worrying⁸⁰ over his bodily suffering. Unto God [be] the praise,
- 5 who cured him! And perhaps there will arrive from Rabbi Maimūn some relief for me, and he will inform me⁸¹. And so also my Lord Abū al-Faḍl.....

⁷³ Perhaps مَأْخُذ “mine,” or “source of supply.”

⁷⁴ נִרְאָה, perhaps a confusion of נִרְיָ “we [do not] think,” and colloquial *yarau*, “they [do not] think.”

⁷⁵ עֲטִימָה should be masculine.

⁷⁶ פֶּרֶג is فَرْج, a break in the grain market, or a relief in the stringency of public need.

⁷⁷ גִּלְגָּל is غِلْغِل. ⁷⁸ וְאֵל is وَلَئ.

⁷⁹ אֶשְׂרֵי is אוֹ. The *au* was pronounced *ō*.

⁸⁰ Cf. No. XXVI, ll. 12, 16.

⁸¹ I.e. “about what to do for my own sickness.”

- 6 לי ענדה חסאב ואעטם סרור ידכל עלי קלבי מא יתצל בי מן סלאמה
גסמה ואכבאר
- 7 יערפני בהא מן אלגרב לאני הונא משתאק לסמאע כבר לאני טול נהאר.
מחצור פי אל
- 8 דאר אקרא אלי וקת עצר אכרג סאעה אתפרג וארגע אלי צלאת מנחה.
וסרור אבן
- 9 סהלאן הו ענדנא פי אלקדם וגע אללה תעאלי ישפיה וידכר אנה תעווה
נפקה
- 10 ומא יגר אחר ידכל אליה ולא יכלמה באל עזיז עליי ואלנאם מעדורין
יטלב ואחר
- 11 יעמל גמיל רבמא יחצל פי אשיא לא ירומהא ורבמא יכרג עלי וגבה
בעיץ אלאוקת
- 12 ישתרי לה חאנה והו יסכן פי דור אל מסלמין ולא דאכל ולא כארג עליה.
ואן סמע לר'
- 13 יצחק אלאנדלסי חרסה אללה כבר בוצולה יכתב אליי בפצלה פאני מעלק
אלקלב אליה אללה
- 14 יסמעני ענה כיר ויערפני בפצלה אן כאן וצל רבינו יחי לעד למצר אללה
תעאלי יגעלה פי
- 15 חיז אל סלאמה קראת עלי מולאי אלשיך אגל אלסלם ומולאי אבו אלאימן
ומולאי אבו עלי
- 16 אצהארה חרסהמא אללה אפצל אלסלם וקד וצלת כתב אבו אלפרג האמה
אללה מן צור^{???}
- 17 והו פי כל עאפיה ואל צבי אשר סלמה אללה מעה אעלמתה דלך ושלום לן

Margin :

וקד תופי אלהגל אלדי כאן יטאלבני פי דאר אלשיך אבו אלאעלא | וגרת
לי מעה תלך אלקצין וקד לקי פעלה פעויל לנא פמא | אנפלנא ען חאל
אנפסנא אללה ינ... פי אגל מולאי ויטול | עמרה

⁸² I.e. events.

⁸³ Article needed.

⁸⁴ אָרֹו for אַקְרָא "straining toward."

⁸⁵ תַּעֲוֹזָה is תַּעֲוֹזָה.

⁸⁶ מַעֲדוּרִין is מעדורין.

⁸⁷ וֹזֶת and אֻזֶּזֶת is a confusion between אוקת.

⁸⁸ I.e. He makes no distinction between close friends and mere acquaintances, between Jews and Muslims.

⁸⁹ I.e. "do you."

- 6 I have an account against him ; but the greatest happiness will enter my heart if there should reach me [news] of the health of his body, and news
- 7 informing me of it⁸² in the West. For here I yearn to hear news, because I all day⁸³ long am shut up in the
- 8 house, waiting impatiently for⁸⁴ the time of afternoon [when] I can go out for an hour and take a walk and return for the Minḥah prayers. And Sarūr Ibn
- 9 Sahlān is with us in Jerusalem. He has been ill. May God the Exalted heal him ! And he says that his losses are reducing him to poverty⁸⁵.
- 10 And he finds no one visiting him that he does not speak to him violently against me. And people are disappointed⁸⁶. One tries
- 11 to do a kindness—often it results in things which one does not like. And often it leads to a crash on certain occasions⁸⁷.
- 12 [One] buys him something, and he [goes and] lives in the houses of the Muslims. To him there is no inside or outside⁸⁸. And if there is heard of Rabbi
- 13 Isaac the Spaniard—God keep him !—any news about his arrival, let him⁸⁹ kindly write to me, for I hold him in great affection⁹⁰. May God
- 14 cause me to hear from him good news ! And let him kindly inform me if the Rabbi⁹¹—May he live forever !—reaches Cairo. May God the Exalted put him on
- 15 the side of safety ! I am writing to my Lord the Sheikh the most distinguished peace⁹², and [to] my Lord Abū al-Ēṭān⁹³, and [to] my Lord Abū ‘Ulā⁹⁴
- 16 his relations—God keep them both !—The most excellent of greeting ! And the letters of Abū al-Faraj—God watch over him !—have arrived from Tyre.
- 17 And he is in all [good] health. And the boy, Asher,—God preserve him ! —is with him. I am letting him⁹⁵ know that. Peace be unto him⁹⁶ !

Margin :

And the man has died who used to importune me in the house of the Sheikh Abū al-A'lā. And these doings⁹⁶ went on between us. And he has received his deserts⁹⁷. But woe⁹⁸ unto us ! For we are not unmindful of our own condition⁹⁹. May God.....(?) my Lord most abundantly and extend his life !

⁹⁰ I.e. "I am dependent upon him as to heart."

⁹¹ The bearer of the letter itself

⁹² סְלָאִם is סָלָאִם.

⁹³ אֵיִתָּן. ⁹⁴ Hardly 'Alī ; and we find 'Ulā in No. I.

⁹⁵ I.e. the addressee of the letter.

⁹⁶ קָצִין is קָצִין. Cf. Friedländer, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides*, p. 92.

⁹⁷ Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 546.

⁹⁸ פְּעוּלָה is פְּעוּלָה. The *ו* was repeated from the preceding word.

⁹⁹ He remembers that he also may die, as well as the man whom he disliked.

Address:

لمولای الشیخ ابو یحییٰ نہرای ابن نسیم من ابو زبیر صدقة المغربی شاکره
اطال الله بقاءه وادام سلامتہ وسعادته الفسطاط ان شا الله عزوجل

¹⁰⁰ As there are scarcely any points to distinguish similar letters from one another in these proper names, it is almost useless to try to make them out. But the Arabic type commits one to some definite reading.

*Address*¹⁰⁰:

To my lord the Sheikh Abū Yaḥyā Nahrāi¹⁰¹ Ibn Nissīm,
From his grateful Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī.
May God extend his [earthly] sojourn, and protract his health and
happiness!
Al-Fuṣṭāṭ—If it please God¹⁰², the Powerful and Exalted!

¹⁰¹ Aramaic.

¹⁰² I.e. that it should arrive safely.

XXVIII. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $11\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in Hebrew characters.

The beginning, perhaps a considerable portion, of this letter, is wanting; but what we have is well preserved. The cursive Hebrew hand is neat and legible, and continues so to the end; and the margin has not been filled with added scrawls. A blank space has unaccountably been left near the bottom. After the conclusion, line 25, several postscripts have been added. A cryptic signature or date stands at the lower right-hand corner.

This fragment may be the ending of a letter of which No. XXX is the beginning.

- 1 ואנא אדרבך ואעלמך גמיע מא אערף ואכרך מעי
- 2 לכל בית אן ארוח ליה בעד האדה רוח לאדכאן ביבעתני
- 3 כל שגל ביני מנה ב ביקולי כדלך דרהם והאת דרהם
- 4 בנהאר פי שגלי ובליל בשתגל פילקראיה בעין מא
- 5 עלמני אלמכדום ואנא מסתקנע בדעאך ואנת תקול
- 6 אללה ירוקך חן וחאסד קבלת מנך ואנא וביתי ואכותי
- 7 ואהלי ואצחאבי ואלקאהל פי שלום: בעד אלסלאם
- 8 אלתאם עליך ועלי אלאך אלעזיז כבוד ר צדאקא אלעפף
- 9 יז ועלי ולדה אלשיך אבראהם יל ועלי ביתה אלגמיע
- 10 ועלי כבוד הדראת ר עבדיה אלהרה יל ואיצא ואלדהו
- 11 ועלי כבוד ר אהרן אלצפיר איצא ואלדה ועלי סתנה
- 12 אלכבירה צאחבת אלבית ועלי סתנה אבו אלפרג צאחבת
- 13 אלאחסאן ועלי סתנה שקרה בנת אלמרחום ר מושה
- 14 זל צאחבת אלכיר ואלכרם ואלאחסאן אללה יגעל עמרכום

¹ אן used as an indefinite relative, quite clearly in this case; less clearly in other instances among our fragments. This is not modern vernacular, and appears to be a characteristic feature of Judeo-Arabic of the time. We also have in our fragments **الذی**

in the sense of **أَنَّ**, a semantic change illustrated by English "that": first the demonstrative pronoun, then the relative pronoun, then the conjunction. This use of **الذی** is the same as that of the modern colloquial *illi*: *ana mabsūt illi mā gāsh*, "I am glad that he did not come." Cf. Spiro, *Arabic-English Vocabulary*, 1st ed., 1895, p. 17.

² *lē* for *lō* is Palestinian.

³ The Hebrew words.

⁴ I.e. "wife."

⁵ **بَعْدُ** and not **بَعْد**, it seems.

⁶ The writer is spelling almost phonetically both his Arabic and his Hebrew: **צדקה** = **צראקא**, **קהל** = **קאהל**, **קסד** = **חאסד**. For this passage we know that **צדקה** was pronounced in the Hebrew way by Jews.

וזאת מדרבך ומעלמדך גמיע מאת ענך ומכוד מעי
 לכל בית מן ארון ליה בעד הארץ דוח כדורא ביצ ערני
 על שגל ביג' מעה בצינלי כדלך דרהם והאת דרהם
 בנה אד פי שגלי ובליל צשהגל סכרמה בינץ מא
 עלסגני למכרם ומא מעסתקנע בדעמך ומטר הקול
 אלה ירסקך חן וחמסד קבלה מעך ומא וביה ואכור
 ומה לי ומאמצי ולאקהל פי שלום ייבעד לסלמס
 אתם עלך ועלי אמך לעני כבוד לעמך לעפס
 נן ועלי ופיה אשיך מבראהם כל ועלי ביה אגמיע
 ועלי כבוד הדמא ד עבדיה אחרה כל ומיצא מלה
 ועלי כבוד דמהר אצני ומיצא מלה נע י פה
 אכירה עמחה אבית ועלי מנה אבן אפר ג עמחה
 לאחסמ ועלי סהרה סקרה בנה למרחום למי
 כל עמחה אכיר ואכרם לאחסמ אלה יג על עמרחם
 כלסמסול אמעמסור במא טקא בעד לסלמס אלה
 טלי א שיר הארון אל סבאך אסכר למערוף צ צניעה
 וביה מולדה ועלי אשיר מבראהים עהרס אפערו
 בד אשור אחר וציה כל ועלי אגך כלסמסגמיע
 ועלי כבוד דושיעה אג עמתי ומא כצלך יאמעלם
 עיה עני באכלמס למחמל הוה יחב אסרס כהר למא
 זין בעד לסלמס עלי ד משה אב רצי כל ועלמכצ וביה
 ועלי אהרן עבד לעני ועלי אשיר עבד אכרם וביה
 ומלה ועלי אשיר שמא אציה ומלה
 ועלי אדי נשיתקם מיע ועלי סמיר לקהל
 יאמעלם למחמל
 מן אמולד מסדח
 מן אמכדים בלה
 לובטת רוחי מאכלות
 כצלך יציע אוקה שרה
 ומאלי מדרה לעיפ
 יהוה אלהיך עתה מסר
 מנה אשיר אהמ
 ינעד מברא
 קב צלפצה מן בעדו ען נאמרי לאתחזקן קלבי בנאר
 גמאמך דלש
 באלה עליך דדלי גמבה סרעה
 באלה עליך למתהאן סלממלך
 עבדכמה צעיר
 בד שות מלח שמות
 יאמכמים ושלם

XXVIII. PART OF A LETTER

This text, with No. XXX, is extremely interesting, not only because it has been plainly written and perfectly preserved, but because it antedates by possibly two hundred and fifty years the next oldest specimen which we have of colloquial Arabic: *Hazz al-Kuhūf* by al-Shirbinī, A.D. 1687. (Cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. ii, p. 278.) In marked contrast to our texts Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, XXXIV and XXXV, we find here a Jew writing, probably in the early fifteenth century, almost what is spoken in Cairo today. Was the writer a slave?

- 1 And I shall acquaint you with and inform you of all that I know. And I shall take you with me [in fancy]
- 2 to every house to which¹ I go². After this go [in fancy with me] to the shop. [The proprietor] sends me
- 3 all business. From this there are two [shares]. He says to me: "There is a dirham!" and "Give [me] a dirham!"
- 4 Every day there is my business; and at night I work at reading some of the things which
- 5 the Master has taught me. And I am content with your prayer; for you say:
- 6 "May God grant you grace³ and favor³!" I have received [it] from you. And I and my household⁴ and my sisters
- 7 and my people, and my companions, and the congregation³ are at peace³. Then⁵ the perfect
- 8 salutation, to yourself and your dear people: the honorable³ Rabbi Šedhākāh⁶ al-'Afif⁷,
- 9 and to his son, the Sheikh Abraham⁷, and to all his household;
- 10 and to his Honor, his Excellency⁸, Rabbi Obadiah, his Excellency^{8,7}, and also his father,
- 11 and to the honorable⁵ Rabbi Aaron al-Šafir⁹, also his father; and to our great
- 12 lady, the mistress of the house¹⁰; and to our lady [wife of] Abū al-Faraj, mistress of
- 13 benevolence; and to our lady Shuḡrah¹¹, daughter of the deceased Rabbi Moses⁷,
- 14 mistress of good fortune, and generosity, and benevolence. May God make your lives

⁷ יִגְדַל וְיַחֲיוּ = "May he grow and live!" יְיָ לִרְצוֹן = "God be favorable to him!"

⁸ *الحدرة* and *هدرات* are Arabic forms of the title *הדרה*. (Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 260, line 8.) ה and ה interchange. (Cf. Dalman, *Aramäisch Neuhabräisches Wörterbuch*, 2nd ed., 1922, p. 138, col. 1, lines 19-20.)

⁹ Arabic صَفِير "sapphire," a substitute for Aramaic שַׁפִּיר "excellent," perhaps.

¹⁰ I.e. the wife of the addressee.

¹¹ I.e. "bright red."

- 15 כלכם אטול אלאעמאר בלא שקא בעד אלסלאם אלתאם
 16 עלי אלשיך הארון אלטבאך אלסכר אלמערופ בבן צניעה יל
 17 וביתה ואולדה ועלי אלשיך אבראהים צהרכם אלמערופ
 18 בבן אלשויד אלחתן וביתה יל ועלא א[צה]ארך כלהם גמיע
 19 ועלי כבוד ר' ישועה גוז עמתי ומן פצלך יא מעלם
 20 ציה עני באלכלאם לאחאל הוה יחב אלסרס כתיר לאנה
 21 זקין בעד סלאם עלי ר' משה אבן רצי יל ועלי רצי וביתה
 22 ועלי אביך עבד אלעזיז ועלי אלשיך עבד אלכרים וביתה
 23 ואלאדה ועלי אלשיך שמואל וביתה ואולאדה
 24 ועלי אלדי נסיתהם גמיע ועלי סאיר אלקאהל
 25 יא מעלם לא תסאל ושלום
 26 מא אלממלוך מסתחי
 27 מן אלמכרום באללה
 28 ליבעת רוחי מא כלית
 29 פצלך יציע אלוקת שתה
 30 מא לי מקדרה אלציף
 31 יהון אללה תע לא תסאל
 32 מן גהת אלשוק אליך מא
 33 ינעד אבדא האדא אלפרק אמהא נעוד נראכמו חשאכמו
 34 קבצת אלפצה אן תבעדו ען נאצרי לא תחרקו קלבי בנאר
 35 כאתבה אלממלוך גפאכמו
 36 עבדכאם הצעיר באללה עליך רד לי גואבה סרעה
 37 ברשת אלא שמות באללה עליך לא תתהאון באלממלוך
 38 יום אלכמים ושלום

¹² I.e. "sugar." Cf. *Zuckermann*, etc.

¹³ I.e. "son of invention."

¹⁴ I.e. "son of the little Sheikh."

¹⁵ I.e. *مُعَلِّم* "teacher."

¹⁶ *ציה* and *לאחאל* are plainly written.

¹⁷ *סרס* appears to be *شرس*. Cf. the modern Cairene *sams* for *shams*, *semāl* for *shemāl*, etc.: Spitta, *Grammatik des Arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, 1880, p. 18.

¹⁸ *ואולאדה* for *وَأَوْلَادُهُ*.

15 —all of you—the longest of lives, without want! Then⁵ the perfect
 salutation
 16 to the Sheikh Aaron, the cook al-Sukkar¹², known by [the name of] Ibn
 Ṣanī'ah^{13,7},
 17 and his house and his children; and to the Sheikh Abraham, your son-
 in-law, known by [the name of]
 18 Ibn al-Shuwaikh¹⁴, the son-in-law³ and his household^{4,7}; and to all your
 wife's relatives, all;
 19 and to the honorable³ Rabbi Joshua, husband of my paternal aunt. And
 please, Master¹⁵,
 20from me in conversation for¹⁶.....he loves much to quarrel¹⁷, because
 21 he is an old man³. Then⁵ [the] salutation to Rabbi Moses Ibn Raḍī,
 and to Raḍī and his household⁴,
 22 and to your father, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and to the Sheikh 'Abd al-Karīm and
 his household⁴,
 23 and his children¹⁸; and the Sheikh Samuel and his household⁴ and his
 children,
 24 and to those whom I have forgotten, all [of them]; and to the rest of the
 congregation^{3,6}.
 25-26 So, Farewell!

25 O Master¹⁵, do not ask [for reassurances]!
 26 The slave is not ashamed
 27 of the Master. Allah!
 28 It excites me [to think of] how I have made
 29 your Excellency waste time! [In the] winter
 30 I have no provision. [In] the summer
 31 God the Exalted¹⁹ will help. Do not ask [for reassurances]
 32 in regard to the affection [which I bear] toward you. It
 33 shall not be counted²⁰ at all.
 34 I got the silver.
 35 The writer of it is the slave,
 36 your insignificant servant,
 37 "Genesis—Exodus²¹"
 38 Thursday. Farewell!

33^{bis} This is the separation. But we shall see you again. Far be it from you
 34^{bis} to hold aloof from my helper! Do not consume my heart with the
 fire²² of
 35^{bis} your cruelty²³.
 36^{bis} I implore you by Allah! Return me a speedy answer!
 37^{bis} I implore you by Allah! Do not neglect the slave!

¹⁹ تَعَالَى = تعالى. ²⁰ يَنْعَد is يَنْعَد (VIIth for the VIIIth form).

²¹ Hebrew בראשית אלה שמות.

²² These two lines, with the curious אמה for أمّ (?) and the classical forms ending in -kumū, could almost be scanned as *rajaṣ* verses.

²³ Followed by a curious scrawl, half Hebrew and half Arabic.

XXIX. PIZMONIM

Paper $10\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

Since the paper and ink are well preserved, and the writing is very plain, almost every letter can be certainly read. The language is an attempt at classical Hebrew, often distorted for the sake of the meter, and not always giving clear sense. Vowel points are inserted in places, and for the most part correctly.

The meter of the first nineteen verses appears to be a sort of *rajaz* trimeter. The remainder does not scan. In this first section of nineteen verses the second hemistichs are all rimed, with some difficulty, on the first hemistich of the poem; this hemistich appears again as the closing one of the section. In verses 21-24 the same rime is continued; it appears finally in the last verse of the entire poem.

The fragment can perhaps be dated not long before or after the death of the Abraham to whom it is addressed, in A.D. 1237.

Recto:

בשמ רחמ

1

- 2 גול על יי' יעריציד · אדון וירבה גיל עלציד
- 3 דרך לך כוכב וגם האיר · אורו לשבענה בארציד
- 4 לו משאלתיו נתנו אליו · ירד היותו לך מחוץ חפציד
- 5 רמתה עלי כל שר ותבל · עמדה להיות מלא קומציד
- 6 תשב באיתן קשתך עד כי · תורה שנונים יהיו חיציד
- 7 נקרא שמך אברם ואברהם · שמך אדון עולם ברבציד
- 8 ישלים רפואתך ותתנשא · ישא לך פנים וירציד
- 9 קום ועלה היום לתורת אל · הורה לאל פודך ופוציד
- 10 אתה אביר רועים לרעיד · רצתה בדין רבים ברוציד
- 11 שגו בגן שכלך ברושי חור · תחת היותם נעצוציד
- 12 יפרתו אובים וכל שנאים · לעד עדי יכלו מנאציד

¹ Perhaps influenced by the Muslim formula.

² Cf. Psalm xxxvii, 5.

³ Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17. ⁵ Cf. Genesis xlix, 24.

⁴ Cf. Numbers xxiv, 17.

⁶ Cf. Isaiah v, 28, as nāgīd.

⁷ Cf. Genesis xvii, 5.

⁸ Abraham Maimūnī was physician to the Sultan.

XXIX. PIZMONIM

This poem of praise, consolation and encouragement, is addressed by some unknown person to a certain Abraham, who is a physician, a man in high position in the world, and greatly respected by the Jewish community of which he is the champion. He has been attacked by certain enemies, and perhaps even by a mob. The person meant is presumably Abraham Maimūni, the son of the great Maimonides. He was born June 17, 1186, and died in the year 1237. He became nāgīd, probably in 1205, and was physician to the Sultan. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 248 ff.; vol. ii, pp. 326 ff. Eppenstein, *Abraham Maimuni sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 1914 (cited by Mann); Steinschneider, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur der Juden*, § 159; **אוֹצֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל**, *sub voce* **מִיֻּמוֹנִי**; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 2nd series, vol. v, p. 463; *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. iv, p. 24; *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1900, pp. 9 ff., 14 ff.; **קובץ על יד**, vol. xv, 1899.

Recto :

- 1 In the Name of the Compassionate¹
- 2 Commit [your ways] unto the Lord². The company of your rejoicers shall praise you in awe³, my Lord, and it shall increase.
- 3 A star⁴ has gone forth for you ; and its light has shone to our satisfaction in your land.
- 4 If they gave it what it asks, it would come down [from the sky, to] become the city of your desire.
- 5 You are exalted above every prince. And the world is about to be filled with your abundance.
- 6 Your bow remains strong⁵ until you shoot. Your arrows are sharp⁶.
- 7 You were called "Abram"; but the Lord of the World has made you an "Abraham" in your resting places⁷. [For]
- 8 He makes your cures succeed, and you are exalted⁸. He lifts up [His] countenance upon you, and is gracious to you.
- 9 Arise and go up today for the Law of God. Give thanks unto God, your redeemer and your deliverer.
- 10 You are the mightiest of shepherds unto your companions. You have hastened [to help] many in court with your ready [help]⁹.
- 11 Splendid cypresses have grown in the garden of your intelligence, instead of (their being) thorn-hedges (of yours¹⁰).
- 12 All enemies¹¹ and haters shall be cut off for ever, until your revilers come to an end.

⁹ His position made it possible for him to come to the aid of his brethren.

¹⁰ Cf. Isaiah lv, 13.

¹¹ **אוֹבִיִּים**. The syllable **י** having no full vowel does not count with the meter, and has here dropped out entirely. Read **אוֹבִיִּים**.

- 13 ידגו וגם יפרו שתיליך · האל ויפריח לנצח
 14 שירי צטה שרין ותלבשת · קומה חגור היום חלצוך
 15 מה לך וקוצי שיר סביבך · שירי זרה היום לקוציך
 16 אם כן בני לוי יהודון בך · נחנו בני דוד מליצוך
 17 הנה אני אבר תבונתך · אורה לסופתך ומוציך
 18 אם יצטמוך בעלי חצים · אצטם יריבך ולו חצוך
 19 ברך לאומרים אל יראי אל · גול על יי' יעריצוך

[פזמ]

20

- 21 גדלך מבלי נגרע · מאת האל קדושיך ·
 22 מעריך הוא נפרע · ומכל דרשי מוקשיך ·
 23 יום הצוף בו המון הפרע · ונחך אל בית קדשיך ·
 24 יי' ישמרך מכל רע · ישמר את נפשיך ·

פזמ

25

- 26 לאל אודה על גאולת · עמי ורפאות אב המונים
 27 אברהם מבחר סגולת · עם אל רב כל תחכמונים
 28 יזכה אסוף נדחי גולת · אריאל ובאו ברננים
 29 אל ראש הר כל מכונים · אשר תאווה נפשיך

Verso:

פזמ

1

- 2 אל חי לעמו חיש יקרא · גיל ובאברתו יסך לך
 3 עם אברהם אל תירא · הנה אנכי מגן לך
 4 הגוי הזה מה נורא · היום כי יי' מלך
 5 וכל גוי רשע וישלך · ותגל אתה בנפשיך

פזמ

6

12 לנצח twisted into לנצח?

13 אבר? 14 לסופתך?

15 יצטמוך and אצטם (corrected to אצטם) stand for יצטמוך and אצטם, with ש assimilated to ט, and ץ then assimilated to צ. Cf. Genesis xlix, 23.

16 יריבך with direct object?

17 The poet pronounced ירא' as ירי'.

- 13 Thy cuttings, O God, shall multiply, and increase, and flourish for ever¹².
 14 O my Song, cover yourself with armor and raiment! Arise and gird
 your loins today!
 15 What have you to do with suppressors of song about you? Scatter my
 song today to those who would cut you off!
 16 If thus the sons of Levi praise you, we sons of David are your interpreters,
 17 Behold I am the pinion¹³ of your intelligence. I will winnow your whirl-
 wind¹⁴ and your chaff.
 18 If the people with arrows attack you¹⁵, I will attack¹⁵ them that contend
 with you¹⁶. And [had I only] your arrows!
 19 Bless those who say unto those who fear¹⁷ God: "Commit [your ways]
 unto the Lord²."

[Pizmōn¹⁸]

- 20
 21 Your greatness is not at all diminished. From God is your holiness,
 22 He will demand satisfaction from your oppressors and from all those
 who seek to ensnare you.
 23 On the day of the pouring out of [the] mob [there was] the leadership
 [of God] and your resting secure upon your holy house¹⁹!
 24 The Lord will keep you from every ill. He will keep your soul²⁰.
 25
 Pizmōn
 26 To the Lord I will give thanks for the redemption of my people, and the
 healing of the Father of Multitudes,
 27 Abraham, the chosen possession of the people of God, the chief of all
 the Tahchemonites²¹.
 28 May the gathering of the outcasts of the exiles of Ariel²² be pure. And
 they shall come with joy²³
 29 to the top of the Mountain²², [the place of] all places which your soul
 desires.

Verso:

Pizmōn

- 1
 2 The Living God calls to His people: "Hasten, Rejoice!" For with His
 pinion He covers you, [saying:]
 3 "O people of Abraham, fear not! Behold I am a shield unto you!"
 4 How dreadful is this people today! For the Lord is King,
 5 and every evil nation shall be destroyed; but you yourself shall rejoice.
 6
 Pizmōn

¹² Instead of פִּזְמוֹן occurs the cursive Coptic numeral for 500, derived from the Coptic-Greek numeral ϕ. This may merely be intended for an ornament, dividing the introduction from the three stanzas.

¹³ Referring to some experience of Abraham Maimūnī?

²⁰ Psalm cxi, 7.

²¹ I.e. "mighty men." Cf. II Samuel xxiii, 8.

²² "Jerusalem." Cf. Isaiah xxix, 1.

²³ בִּרְנָנוֹת. The *masculine* plural would mean "*female* ostriches."

XXX. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

This is possibly a part of the same letter as No. XXVIII. Both fragments are of the same paper, cut to the same width, written in the same hand and in the same unusual Arabic (cf. Introd. No. XXVIII). Possibly a page has been lost between No. XXX and No. XXVIII. The first two lines of No. XXX unfortunately are defective, and we do not know the name of either of the correspondents, nor the date.

1 כו אלשפיק
 2 אלסעיד [אט] אלללה בקאה חר
 3 ויתולאה ויגמע שמלנא בריאה פי ירושלאים עה תו
 4 בחיר וביאמך אנם באן אלממלוך דאעי ללמכדום כת
 5 כתיר אללה יעין קלבך בגמיע מא תחב וינאולך מא
 6 תקצד פי גמיע אפעאלך אללה יטול עמרך ויכתר
 7 רצקך מא דאמת אלאים ואלסנין אללה יקדרני עלי מסולאת
 8 יא מעלם לא תסאל מא גרא לי מן יום אן טלעת מן מצר
 9 חצלי אלכיר מן פצל אללה ופעלך גית אללה אלכאנכה ומעי יא
 10 נצף פצא קעת עמלת ה תנצאף גית אסבת פי בלבים מא עמ
 11 עמלת שי גינא לצאלחיה עמלת ג תנצאף גית לאקטיה
 12 קעת ה תיאם עמלת בשרפי גינא לאגזה קעת כמסטעשר

¹ עיר הנדחת or עיר הקודש = עה ² ח used to represent خ.

³ possibly = وبأياك, the slanting stroke standing for "و". Cf. line 7. אנם stands for אמן נצח קלה, "Certain! Confidence! Selah!"

⁴ I.e. "I." ⁵ I.e. "the one who is served."

⁶ The first two letters of כתיר occur also at the end of the preceding line.

⁷ ז for צ. ⁸ معلّم.

⁹ חצלי = vernacular ḥaṣḥālī.

¹⁰ A village about twenty kilometers north and east of Cairo, on the old caravan route to Syria. אללאאל is a confusion of ilā and vernacular li al, the א representing the vowel i.

¹¹ קעת = كَعْدَتْ, as in classical Arabic. ¹² "four days" above the line.

¹³ ה תנצאף is the vernacular khāmastaṇṣāf. So also, line 11, talāttanṣāf, lines 12, 13, khāmastīyām; line 14, ārba'tanṣāf, and other instances.

¹⁴ السبّات = אסבת.

ויתורמה ויגמע שולחנה בראיה פי וירושלמים עולה
 בחיר וביאמך חנם באן למחלקך דאשי ללמכדום דת
 כתר לך ופיץ קלדי בגמיע מא תת וינחולך מא
 תקצר פי גמיע מפעלך לך יטול עמך ויכתר
 רצון מא דאמת אמת ואסני לך ידתי עלי מא
 יא מעלם למדסחל מא גרמלי מן יום לן טלעת מן מא
 חזלי אבך מן פצל לך ופעלך גיר ללאכאנכה ומעי נא
 נצף כנא קער ^{מלכא} למלכא דנצף גיר אסבה פי בלבים מא
 עמלת שינא לצאלחיה עמלת גיר צאח גיר למקרה
 קער הריאם עלילת בשרפי גיר לאנציה קער סעס
 יום עמלת באשרפי גיר לאכפככסה קער מאיסע
 בארבע נצף אגמלה ה' נצף עבד מעל אססב
 נצף אבאקי אכרבהם הריה קערנא פי אטריק ה' יום
 ה' א' עבדנא לשאם פי שלום בללך טלעת מן ענדכס
 ועלי ידן ארבע אטרפיה מע מסא עד למכאדס פ
 גבראן אכאטר עיר פשאם בשלום רחת ללרים אבן חל
 שרף אבד מני טן נצף וכדב לי פלמחצר אמדכור
 בטנה ורחת פי חמלי סמען אבאכי גארו מנה המה ה'
 ריסה גירה קאלן מא נסמעלה שי אבדא פאגדמען
 ענדי לושר כלחם וצאלח בינארהם וקע אצלח עלי
 קאלן מאכאכד אלמכ נצף אמן מכדן מולמא אכד ה' נצף
 אינא וקבה עשרת נצף אגמלה כן נצף ועליי כן נצף
 אינא וקבה אמן מצד אחרת נצף חזית כמעסין נצף
 חזית קער פי דכאן בעד בטמלת ה' יום בעד הארה
 בלה אכרסיר במיד נצף באממא אסלפנהא בלכבית
 אסמא וחצל לשלום בנצרך וכרמסיומא אבא עליי הש
 אבדה מע מעונת לך בחור י' קער פי אדכא גארו מני
 איהוד רחת ללרים אכחית לך כלן אקעד ולמאכא מענה

XXX. PART OF A LETTER

We have here the beginning of a breezy letter written by someone in Damascus to someone in Fustāt. The writer has recently made the journey from the latter to the former place, earning or begging money from (Jewish?) communities on the way. Arriving at Damascus he is mulcted by both Muslims and Jews, but especially the latter, who are jealous of him. After establishing himself in business he has more trouble of the same sort, and is befriended by the Muslim ra'īs. Here the text breaks off.

The use of "ashrafī" and "nuṣf faḍḍah," instead of "dīnār" and "dirham," is found in No. XLI also. The "nuṣf" was not used before the days of the sultan al-Mu'ayyad (A.D. 1412–1421). Our fragment may therefore be dated in the early 15th century.

- 1al-Shafīk,.....
 2al-Sa'īd. May God prolong his life.....
 3 and direct him, and reunite us by seeing him in Jerusalem¹.....
 4 in good condition². And in your days: A!N!S!³; since the slave⁴
 prays for the Master⁵
 5 often⁶: "God requite your heart with all that you desire, and give you what
 6 you seek in all your undertakings! God prolong your life and multiply
 7 your sustenance⁷ as long as days and years continue!" God enable me
 to [answer your] questions!
 8 O, Master⁸, do not ask what happened to me from the day when I came
 up from Cairo!
 9 I had⁹ good luck by the grace of God and your grace. I came to al-
 Khānḳāh¹⁰, having with me eleven
 10 half pieces of silver. I stayed¹¹ four days¹². I made five half¹³ [pieces of
 silver]. I arrived on a Sabbath¹⁴ in Bilbais¹⁵, [and so] I made¹⁶
 11 nothing. We went to al-Šālihiyah¹⁷. I made three half¹³ [pieces of
 silver]. I came to Ḳaṭyah¹⁸.
 12 I stayed¹¹ five days¹³. I earned an ashrafī¹⁹. We came to Gaza²⁰. I
 stayed¹¹ fifteen²¹

¹⁵ About 35 kilometers from al-Khānḳāh further along the caravan route.

¹⁶ The first two letters of עמלת occur also at the end of the preceding line.

¹⁷ About 55 kilometers from Bilbais, further along the caravan route.

¹⁸ About 75 kilometers from al-Šālihiyah, further along the caravan route, in Sinai. Cf. Wüstenfeld's edition of *Yāqūt*, vol. iv, p. 144, where the article is omitted as here in our fragment. The א in לאקטה (l. 12), לאנה (l. 13), represents the vowel of the preposition.

¹⁹ A gold-piece worth a dīnār, or somewhat less than a dīnār. Cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, *sub voce* and our note 23. The preposition בִּי is here properly used with the verb. Cf. Spiro, *Vocab.*, p. 413.

²⁰ לאנה, cf. note 18. About 190 kilometers from Ḳaṭyah, further along the caravan route, in Palestine.

²¹ חמסטשר *khāmasṭā'sher* is an interesting form with transposed ' still retained, and ז changed to ש by the '. The modern form is *khāmasṭā'sher*.

- 13 יום עמלת באשרפי ג'ית לאכפרכנה קעת ה תאיאם עמל[ת]
 14 בארבע תנצאף אלגמלה הע נצף עבר מעי לשאם סכע
 15 תנצאף אלבאקי אכת בהם הדיה קעדנא פי אלטריק' חמ יום
 16 התא עברנא לשאם פי שלום באללה טלעת מן ענדכם
 17 ועליי דין ארבע אשרפיה מע מסאעד אלמכאידם מע
 18 גבראן אלכאטר צרת פשאם בשלום רחת ללדים אבן אל
 19 שריף אכד מני מז נצף וכתב לי פלמחצר אלמדכור
 20 בטנהו ורחת פי חאלי סמעו אלבאקי גארו מנה המה ה
 21 ריסה גירה קאלו מא נסמע לה שי אבדא פאגתמעו
 22 ענר אלמשד כלהום וצאלח בינאתהם וקע אלצלח עליי
 23 קאלו מא נאכד אללא כ נצף אלאן אכדו מתל מא אכד הע נצף
 24 איצא והבה עשר תנצאף אלגמלה ק נצף ועליי ק נצף
 25 אלדי כרגת בהא מן מצר צארת ה נצף חבית כמסין נצף
 26 התא קעת פי דכאן בעד בטאלת הז יום בעד האדה
 27 בלה אכתסית במית נצף באמאת אסלפתהא בלרבית
 28 אלאסנה וחצל אלשלום בנצרך וכן ראסי ומא בקא עליי הם
 29 אבדה מע מעונת אללה ברוך יי קעת פי אלדכאן גארו מני
 30 אליהוד רחת ללדים אחכית לה קלי אקעד ולא תכאף מנהם

²² Cana of Galilee, north and east of Nazareth.

²³ If the ashrafi was worth 15½ dirhams (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 43), 75 half-dirhams or half-faddahs would be the correct total of the collections in the various towns.

²⁴ أَخَذْتُ. Cf. note II.

²⁵ He put aside—though where and how?—68 half pieces, and took seven along to Damascus.

²⁶ ה for ח.

²⁷ מסאעדת אלמכאידם possibly for מכרום, is elsewhere used of the addressee of this letter. The plural is here used of the Damascus Jews.

²⁸ جَبْرًا الْخَاطِرِ with مَعَ redundantly. The writer was virtually seized by the Damascus Jews.

²⁹ I.e. the Damascus Jews.

³⁰ Vernacular idiom. Cf. Spiro, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

³¹ המה. Cf. the Maghrabi form *hūma*.

³² The vernacular negative, *mā.....sh abadan*.

³³ مُشَدَّد. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 736, "inspecteur."

³⁴ Since in line 9 he says that he had only eleven half pieces upon reaching his first station from Cairo; and in lines 16–17 he says that he left owing four ashrafis (= 126 half pieces according to line 14. Cf. note 23).

13 days. I earned an ashrafī¹⁹. I came to Kafr Kannah²². I stayed¹¹ five days¹³. I earned
 14 four half¹³ [pieces of silver]. The total [was] 75 half [pieces of silver]²³.
 There crossed over with me to Damascus seven
 15 half¹³ [pieces of silver]. The remainder I held onto²⁴ as a present [to myself?]²⁵. We remained on the road 45 days
 16 until²⁶ we crossed over to Damascus safely¹—By Allah! I went out from among you
 17 owing a debt of four ashrafīs!—with the help of the gentlemen²⁷,
 18 against my will²⁸ I came to Damascus safely! I went to the ra'īs, the son of the
 19 sharif. He took from me 15 half [pieces of silver] and he gave me a receipt in the [presence of the] aforementioned assemblage²⁹,
 20 [in the very] midst of it. And I went about my business³⁰. The rest heard [of this]. They were jealous about it. Five of them³¹,
 21 the ra'īs (of it) [and] others, said: "We shan't listen to this at all³²." And they gathered in a crowd
 22 at the house of the mushidd³³, all of them; and he tried to make peace between them. The peace turned out to my disadvantage.
 23 They said: "We shall not take more than 20 half [pieces of silver]." Now they have taken what he took, [and] 75 half [pieces of silver]
 24 also, and a gratuity of ten half [pieces]¹³, the total being 100 half [pieces]. But I owed 100 half [pieces] with [the debt
 25 of] which I set out from Cairo³⁴. That made 200 half [pieces]. I desired fifty half [pieces]
 26 before²⁶ I should take my seat¹¹ in a shop. After an idleness of 25 days, after all
 27 this, I clothed myself for 100 half [pieces] from sums (?)³⁵ which I borrowed³⁶ at interest³⁷
 28 payable the next year³⁸. And peace¹ reigned, with your favor³⁹; and so¹ [also I] myself⁴⁰ [was at peace], and I had no more anxiety
 29 at all⁴¹, with the help of God. Blessed be the Lord¹! I sat¹¹ in the shop. The Jews
 30 were jealous of me. I went to the ra'īs. I told⁴² him. He said to me⁴³:
 "Stay where you are, and don't be afraid of them."

³⁵ I.e. "sources."

³⁶ For this sense, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, *sub voce*.

³⁷ Hebrew תַּבִּית.

³⁸ ^رأسه, an adjective of defect, derived secondarily from ^سسنة "year," and meaning usually "skipping alternate years."

³⁹ Vernacular *binaḡrak*.

⁴⁰ I.e. "my head." Cf. روح وجه عين نفس, and the Ethiopic *re'es*, "head," "self."

⁴¹ هم أبدا.

⁴² *ihkét*. Cf. Spitta, *Gram.*, p. 232.

⁴³ *kállī*.

XXXI. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $7\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in elegant square Hebrew characters. Lines were drawn with a hard point before writing. Some of the worn spots are difficult to read.

This letter originally consisted of two pages (cf. line 23), probably represented by our two fragments XXXI and XXXII. But evidently one line has been lost at the bottom of XXXI, and several at the bottom of XXXII. Note the persistent rime.

- אשרי שמרי משפט עושה צדקה בכל עת: 1
 אשרי משכיל אל דל ביום רעה ימלטהו יהוה: 2
 אויה לי כי גרתי משך שכנתי עם אהלי קדר: 3
 וחכיתי ליי המסתיר פנים וקונית: 4
 הדרת יקרת אדיר שרי המלאכת כבוד הוד אציל הורי בו לכת: 5
 טפסר מצא חן ברור לבב בת חן להסליל ולל 6
 ועדי עד יתקיים במצותיו הוא קיים 7
 יפה טוב להטיב כל מעש 8
 ברוחו האצילו חסות תחת צילו כל ק 9
 ל 10
 כבוד גדולת תהלת יקר קהלת המונת מעלת הדרת יקרת 11
 צברת כתר אדוני ומרי החכם הנבון החסיד הנדיב ישר 12
 בדרכיו תם במפעליו השר המיוקר הזקן המפואר מבח 13
 אברהם הידוע אביסעד שמרו צורו ויעזרו נוצרו לא יקר 14
 עושרו ולא יכבה נרו קמיו יפלו ואויביו יושפלו תחת שבת 15
 יונפלו יחדו המה יתחוללו בן מז גד קה מז 16
 הדר עמרת הוד תפארת אדונינו הזקן הגדול השר 17
 והמכובד סהל הידוע אבי אלפצל תחא נפשו נחווה 18

¹ Psalm cvi, 3.

² Psalm xli, 2.

³ Psalm cxx, 5.

⁴ Isaiah viii, 17.

⁵ אצל

⁶ מצטר

⁷ מעשה

⁸ הצילו

⁹ Isaiah xxx, 3.

¹⁰ Feminine endings forming a sort of abstract noun.

¹¹ The Arabic name, with Abū changed to Abī, to make it seem Hebrew (cf. Abimelek).

[illegible]

XXXI. PART OF A LETTER

A letter from one, Tobiah, to Abū Sa'd Abraham Ibn Abū al-Faḍl Sahl al-Tustarī, the wealthy dealer in rarities who through the mother of the Sultan Ma'add, a slave-girl from his market, exercised great influence at court until his assassination in A.D. 1048. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 76 ff., and Index; Gottheil, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. v, p. 62. Our fragment is without address or date, but can safely be dated at about A.D. 1048.

Tobiah has had great misfortune. He explains that he did not come to Egypt in order to obtain assistance.

- 1 Blessed are they that keep justice, and [blessed is] he that doeth righteousness at all times¹.
- 2 Blessed is he that considereth the poor. The Lord will deliver him in the day of evil².
- 3 Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech, that I dwell among the tents of Kedar³!
- 4 And I will wait for the Lord, that hideth [His] face, and I will look for Him⁴.
- 5 [To] the Beauty of the Dignity¹⁰ of the Mighty One of the Princes of Commerce! Honor, Glory with⁵ those who teach walking therein!
- 6 The Courtier, the Gracious Countenance⁶! Illustrious, Merciful of Heart, to.....and to.....
- 7 And for ever and ever he shall be established. In His commands he is enduring.....
- 8 Beautiful, Good,to do every thing well⁷.....
- 9 In his spirit escape⁸. Asylum under His shadow⁹. Every.....
- 10
- 11 To the Honor of the Majesty of the Praise of the Dignity of the Congregation of the Multitude of the Height of the Beauty of the Dignity¹⁰
- 12 of the Abundance¹⁰ of the Crown¹⁰ of my Lord and Master the Wise, the Intelligent, the Pious, the Generous, Upright
- 13 in his ways, Perfect in his deeds, the Honored Prince, the Glorified Elder,
- 14 Abraham, known as Abū Sa'd¹¹—May his Rock¹² be his preservation, and may his Protector help him¹³! May his wealth not
- 15 decrease, and may his light not be extinguished! May they fall that rose against him, and his enemies be brought low, under his rod!
- 16 May they be confounded! One and all, may they be confounded! Son of the Honor of the Majesty of the.....
- 17 Beauty of the Crown of the Glory of the Beauty of our Lord, the Elder, the Great, the Prince.....
- 18 and the Honored Sahl, known as Abū al-Faḍl. May his soul live¹⁴, quickened.....

¹² I.e. God.

¹³ קוֹנֵי צְרָחָיו

¹⁴ קָתְחִי

19 של צדיקים בגנת חיים. תחת אשלי גן רחוייה. בגן עדן שרוייה.

20 מעין החיים רווייה: מגמת מכתבי זה. מאיש עני ונבזה.

21 ההוסמך להיות מזה. טוביה עבדך הרזה. שעברו עליו צרות

22 כחלזה. ואין ספר לחקור בזה. ולא כדברי אשר אמר מה זה.

23 ולא כמנהג מי אני כי הביאותני עד זה. נחקקו שתי טורים

24 אלה אליך. אדוני הזקן הנכבד שצ להודיע אודות כי לא

25 באתי הנה בארץ מצרים בעבור שאבקש מן הזקנים דבר

¹⁵ ?דחוייה Aramaic.

¹⁶ טורים, "pages," literally "rows," "series." The letter originally consisted of two pages, our fragments XXXI and XXXII.

19 of the righteous, in the Garden of Life, under the tamarisks of the Garden
 of the Serpent¹⁵, planted in the Garden of Eden,
 20 saturated from the Tree of Life! The purpose of this, my letter, from
 a man poor and despised, [and]
 21 the establishing [of fact] to result from this [letter is that] there have
 passed, over Tobiah, your servant, the lean, troubles
 22 like this. And there is no book on this [subject] for [you to] study. Nor
 [is there anything] like my words when I say: "What is this!"
 23 Nor am I like another man when Thou [O God] hast brought me to
 this!" These two pages¹⁶ have been drawn up¹⁷
 24 for you, my Lord, the honored Elder—May God preserve him!—to make
 known the causes [of my plight]. For I did not
 25 come here to the land of Egypt in order that I might seek anything
 from the elders.

¹⁷ תתקן?

XXXII. PART OF A LETTER

Paper $7\frac{7}{8} \times 6$ inches.

Hebrew in elegant square Hebrew characters. Lines were drawn with a hard point before writing. Some of the worn spots are difficult to read.

This letter originally consisted of two pages (cf. XXXI, line 23), represented by our two fragments XXXI and XXXII. But evidently one line has been lost at the bottom of XXXI, and several at the bottom of XXXII.

- 1 שאתכרכר ואתפרנִם[?] אבל באתי הנה בעבור דבר אחר
- 2 וישבתי שנה תמימה במלאכת אדוני המפואר ולא ראיתי
- 3 רווחה במעשי ידי וגם לא עמדתי לפני אדם אחר שאב[קש]
- 4 ממנו מחיה ולא בקשתי מן אדם וגם לא נתן לי א[דם].
- 5 [דבר מעו]לם זולת[?] א תק ל ע
- 6 במקום הזה והאלהים יודע איך חיינו שלשת הנפ[שות כל]
- 7 השנה מכובד דוחק המחיה ואמר לי אבי אלפרג
- 8 כ[י] אדוני הזקן המיוקר חרה אפו בעבור כי שכנתי ביניכם
- 9 וכאשר שמעתי דבריו אמרתי בלבי כי אולי הכבדתי עליהם
- 10 כי כל יום ויום עומד לפניהם ונקצר רוח אדוני ממני או
- 11 שמע[?] בעבור שירורוֹתִי[?] מיום שנכנסתי במקום ה[זה] וחרה
- 12 לו בשיכנותי ביניהם. ושמתי לבי שאלך אל ארצי ואל
- 13 מולדתי ומשפחתי ומפיל תחינתי לפני אדוני הזקן אשר
- 14 המיוקר שיעשה שאלתי שבעבורה ירדתי אל המקום
- 15 הזה כי אין הנה מי שעשה חסד עימי ולא שילם לי חלופי
- 16 זולתך כי חסדך נשאר עלי שלם ועוד הוספת ותוסיף בזה
- 17 הדבר ויהיה לך שכר בזה ובבא. והוא שתקח ל[עבדך] ברוב[?]
- 18 חכמתך כתב כי אפחד שלא ישיגני בדרך כאשר השיגני

¹ Read perhaps: [זה]ל ע[בר] אתי [הכ]ל ע[בר] אתי, "except what I brought with me. All is gone."

² See No. XXXI, note II.

³ שירורוֹתִי for שירורוֹתִי, "stubbornness," or שירורוֹתִי "service" (?).

[illegible]

XXXII. PART OF A LETTER

As the context shows, hardly more than one line has been lost between XXXI and XXXII.

Tobiah has become a burden to the Egyptian community through his failure to support himself. He desires to return to his home, somewhere in the "Roman Empire," and asks Abraham to give him a letter which will protect him from molestation.

- 1 to go to and fro and get a living ; but I came here for another reason.
- 2 And I remained a whole year [engaged] in the business of my honored Master. But I have not beheld
- 3 any profit through the work of my hands. Yet I have not stood before any man to beg
- 4 of him support ; nor have I begged of [any] man ; nor has any man given me
- 5 [anything,] from time out of mind except.....¹
- 6 in this place. And God knows how we lived—three persons—all
- 7 the year, burdened [with] the need of sustenance. And Abū² al-Faraj... ..told me
- 8 that my Lord, the honored Elder, was angry because I have dwelt among you.
- 9 And when I heard his words, I said to myself that perhaps I had become a burden to them.
- 10 For day after day I stand before them ; and my Lord's patience is exhausted ; or
- 11 he has heard(?) about my stubbornness(?)³ from the day when I became a member of the community in this place ; and he became angry
- 12 at my dwelling among them. And I made up my mind to go to my own country and to
- 13 my birth-place and my kindred ; and [I am] placing my petition⁴ before my Lord, the Elder, the honored Prince,
- 14 that he perform my request, on account of which I came down to this place.
- 15 For here there is no one who has been gracious to me, or requited me [with good]—Quite the contrary⁵!—
- 16 save only you. For your favor has remained for me perfect⁶; and you have even added and will add [favor] in this
- 17 matter. And you will have a reward in this and in the coming world. And [my request is] that you prepare for [me,] your servant in the abundance(?)
- 18 of your wisdom, a letter. For I fear that [evil] may overtake⁷ me on the way, even as it overtook⁷ me

⁴ תַּהֲנִיתִי.

⁵ חֲלוּפּוֹ.

⁶ שְׁלֵמָה.

⁷ הַשִּׁיגִנִּי, וַיִּשְׁיגֵנִי.

- 19 בְּחַיִּים וְלֹלִי רַחֲמֵי שְׂרִי וְחֶסֶד אֲדֹנִי הַזֶּקֶן הַמְּכֻבָּד הַיּוֹמִי הַזֶּה
 20 בְּבֵית הַכֹּלָא וּבִימֵי הָהֶם הָיָה בְּיָדִי וְנָתַתִּי שׁוֹחַד אֲבֵל בְּ[א]לֵה
 21 הַיָּמִים אֵין בְּיָדִי מֵאוֹמָה וְעַל זֶה מִפִּיל תַּחֲנִיתִי לִפְנֵי אֲדֹנִי
 22 שִׁיעֲשֵׂה עִם עַבְדּוֹ חֶסֶד וְלֹא יִנְיַחְהוּ שִׂיאָבֵד כִּי עַבְדְּךָ יִגְדִּיל
 23 וַיִּפְאֵר שֵׁם אֲדֹנִי הַזֶּקֶן שֶׁצֶּ בְּכָל מָה שֶׁעֲשֵׂה עִמִּי וְעַתָּה כִּי אֲדָם
 24 בְּכָל קְדִילֹת אֶרֶץ אֲדָם הַקְּרוֹבוֹת וְהַרְחוֹקוֹת וְאַתְקֵן שִׁנִּי
 25 וְחֲמִישִׁי שִׁבְרֹכּוֹ לֵאדֹנִי הַמְּכֻבָּד בְּבֵתִי כְּנִסְיוֹתִי וּמֵאֵת צוּרִי
 26 הַמִּשְׁאֵל שִׁסִּיר מִמֶּנּוּ כָּל מַחֲלָה וְכָל גּוֹרָה רָעָה כִּכְ לֹא תֵאֻנָּה וְגוֹ

⁸ Probably the modern Henassiyeh near Benisueif. See Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908, p. 206.

⁹ See No. XXXI, line 14.

¹⁰ I.e. the Roman Empire.

19 at Hānēs⁸. Had it not been for the mercies of the Almighty and the
 favor of my Lord, the honored Elder, I should be today
 20 in prison. In those days I had [money] in my hand, and I gave a bribe.
 But
 21 in these days there is not in my hand anything ; and on account of this
 [I am] placing my petition⁴ before my Lord,
 22 that he may deal graciously with his servant, and not leave him to perish.
 For your servant will magnify
 23 and glorify the name of my Lord, the Elder—May the Rock preserve
 him⁹!—for all that he has done for me, and for every man
 24 in all the congregations of the land of Edom¹⁰, near and far. And I will
 order [the] second¹¹
 25 and [the] fifth¹¹ to pronounce a blessing for my honored Lord in the
 synagogues. And from my Rock⁹ [I shall make]
 26 the request that He turn aside from him every disease, and every evil
 decree [of fortune:]¹² even as it is written¹³: “Not shall befall”.....¹⁴

¹¹ I.e. שיני בחבורה, etc. There were the ראש, or head of the school, and the members, חברים, arranged in a certain order. See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 54, 264.

¹² נזירה.

¹³ כתוב כאן.

¹⁴ Psalm xci, 10.

XXXIII. LETTER

Paper $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

See the introductions to Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIV, XXXV, which it closely resembles in writing and language. All of these were possibly dictated to the same scribe by members of one community. Cf. also the similar writing in *Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Sammlung Erzherzog Rainer), Wien 1894, opposite p. 262. Many characters are completely assimilated to one form; yet the same character may have different forms. The language shows strong foreign influence.

Recto :

- 1 כתאבי אטאל אללה בקא מולאי אל שיד אלגליל ואדאם תאידה וסלאמתה
ונעמתה
- 2 וכבת אעדאה מן אל מסתקר לז' כלון מן שבט רחמה אללה עליך ועלינא
- 3 באחסן כאתמה ויוזין אליך קרב אללה אל אנתמאע אלסאר במנה וגודה אנה
- 4 אלי דאלך אעלם מולאי אן וצלת בעד משקת בחר ובר ווגדת אלכל עלי
- 5 חאל אלסלאמה נחמד אללה לאן אלאמר אלדי ביה נקול לך וכאן קל[בי]
- 6 משגול מנה קד צח לי דלך פאסאל מן אללה אן יוצי לי ויחסן ל[י] פי
- 7 מא אנא פיה אנה סמיע מגיב ומא ימכני אשרח לך אפ . . .
- 8 דלך וקר אנפדה דלך אל אהל צאנהם אללה וכרגת אדכרתך וקר ית . . .
- 9 . . . הם וקאלו מא ציענא לה ש וראיתם יקולו וסאפרו אליה אדא שא
- 10 וראית חאלהם מא הו גיד מן אלצעף וקלת אלמקדרה תם למא כאן יום אל
- 11 גמעה גא אכיד כלפי מצית מעה לביתך קאל אכרג אלי אלקמח ומא
- 12 בקי פיה קדרה אחתגת אן אולה חיאט ומילת אלגראבין ותעבת
- 13 ואללה פיהא וכרג קמחהא טיב מא פיה שי וגא יכרג אלכל מא וגד

¹ Cf. No. XII, line 1, where the complete expression is used. For this sense of ^{المُسْتَقَرَّ} see Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. ii, p. 319, line 6 from below.

² ^{السَّار}.

³ Much of the difficulty of translating these letters lies in the intentional vagueness with which they were written. There was danger of their being intercepted.

⁴ See Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. ii, p. 697, col. ii, middle.

⁵ Vernacular *mā dayya'na lōsh*. But the *-sh* is still objective; not yet adverbial as it now is.

⁶ ^{مَقَرَّة}.

⁷ ^{مَضِيَّت}.

[illegible]

גרסא דה סדר וברנא ודמורא דלשון אכסין יוני פילא לזרע
 לאט סלמ פילא א סעל מרג צלסן ערלא פירען צניס
 אדל פירנאם סר וניץ ד יוני רימארעל יאט ובענא אבא
 העלמא צולן כן נמא ציענא יפעל מירע ו נמנמא מירע
 א כיוצ ור ער על אדל לוי כן ענוג של מירע ילד ער
 קלע ורנא לא אסו פירען יע ענוג ימאר מי יאט נמנמא אדל סל
 מלמט ער ול חמיר לוי מרג צין לאפוסל פילא ונקרע
 צי למחאב לאפוסל מרג ול סלמ לעל מופיר א לי מרג צניס
 עלמא מלמט ילד וניץ ער מלמט לון אכסין קטין וילד
 אפוסל ולמט אט ער קטין אפוסל ולמט אט לון קטין
 וילא יע נמנמא נמנמא ונמנמא נמנמא ונמנמא נמנמא
 ונמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא
 צין וק נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא
 סלמ מלמט נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא
 מרג מי ונמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא נמנמא

Handwritten text in two lines:

Handwritten text in two lines:

XXXIII. LETTER

A letter from 'Allān(?) Ibn Yaḥyā to Abū 'Umrān Moses Ibn Abū al-Ḥayy. The former has left the latter and gone to a distant city, whence he writes back concerning a number of business and personal matters. Both are engaged in handling miscellaneous merchandise. One is strongly reminded of II Timothy iv, 13-14.

Where the context is lost translation becomes uncertain. Interrogation marks might have been used more plentifully.

There is no date.

Recto:

- 1 [This is] my letter [to you]. May God prolong the life of my Lord, the glorious Sheikh, and continue his safety and his health and his prosperity,
 2 and confound his enemies! [This letter is] from one who inquires¹ [after his health. Written] when 13 days of Shebhāt had passed. The mercy of God be upon you and upon us
 3 through its most favorable termination, and make [it] acceptable to you! May God hasten the happy² reunion in His goodness and His abundant kindness. He is [sufficient]
 4 for that. Know, my Lord, that I arrived after tribulation by sea and land, and found everything in
 5 a condition of safety. We praise God that the matter, about which we told you, and about which my heart
 6 was troubled—that matter has turned out rightly for me. And I ask God to direct me and prosper me in [the business]
 7 in which I am [now engaged]. Verily He hears and answers. And it is not possible for me to explain³ to you.....
 8 this. And those people had already paid⁴ it³—May God protect them!—And I went out, and [then] I remembered you. And already.....
 9 their.....And they said: "We have not wasted⁵ [anything] of his." And I saw them talking. And they journeyed to him when he wished.
 10 And I saw their condition. It was not good, on account of weakness and insufficient nourishment⁶. Then, when it was
 11 Friday, your brother came, after I [had come]. I went⁷ with him to your house. He said: "Bring out to me the grain." But there was no
 12 strength left in him [for such a task]. I needed first of all a tailor⁸. And I turned the sacks on their sides, and I worked hard,
 13 by Allah, at it. And that⁹ grain poured out [of the sacks in] good [condition]. There was¹⁰ not anything [the matter with it]. But he went to work and hauled out the whole business. [And still] he didn't find

⁸ This line is in very bad Arabic. ^٥أَلَى is used for ^٥إِلَى. ^٥أَوَّلُهُ intervenes. ^(?)חַיָּאט should be ^{בִּיאָט} as an "outer plural" of ^{בִּיאָט} does not exist except for the foreigner. One can only guess the sense: He tore his clothes, working (?).

⁹ I.e. "the grain of those sacks."

¹⁰ Vernacular *mā fīh shē*. But the *-shē* is still subjective; not yet adverbial. Cf. note 5.

- 14 פי אלגראב שי חט דכרת פי כתאבך אן תכרז להם גראבין מן אלגריד
 15 יכלטוהא קאלו לא תכרז לנא שי חתי יפרז האדי וקר דפעת להם ניץ
 16 דינ' ואנא נדפע להם אלניף דינ' אלתאני כמא דכרת וכאטרת אביך
 17 פי דכאן אלשיך אבי אלחבן עלי אלמצחף אלנבי אלגיד אלדי לך וקאל
 18 מא קדרת לאן פיה יקראו אלצביאן וקאל קד כתבת לה פיה פאן ביחל עליך
 19 דלך ואל' תכתב אלי ואכדה מנה שא ואבא וקר קלת להם אדא
 20 ביצתם אלגול ועמלתם אלרדנה תאכדו מא יקום בכם לנסאגה
 21 ואל רקאמה וקר קאל לי אכין אן כתבת לה בזמיע שרה אלאשיא אלשב
 22 מא וצל מנה שי והיך קום דינ' וניץ וערצת עליהם לעל אללה
 23 ינבאע מנהם שי ואנא מא נפרט פי דלך אלקפה אלניל קד וצל
 24 יומי האדה קאפלה תאניה פיהא ק קפה ומא הי תנבאע הנא פאן
 25 כאן לך ניה תכתב אלי איש נעמל לך פיהא ואן אכתרת נקסמהא אנא
 26 אפעל דלך אל דנא' אלדי תרכת מעך אכרזה עני מנהא ד' דנא'
 27 ותאכד מנהא חק אלנביד אלדי לך ענדי ותרפע אלבאקי לד אברהם
 28 אל[ק]לעי בעד אן תאכד לי מנהא

Verso:

- 1 בנצף דינ' סכר וברניה ורד מרבה ל' אל שיך אבי יצחק יכון פיהא ד'
 ארטאל
 2 לאני סאלתה פיהא אל סנבל מצית ביה אלסוק ערצאן פי דכאן בנאם

¹¹ Here he avoids the plural entirely. Cf. note 8.

¹² قَطْ

¹³ Cf. note 8.

¹⁴ Palestinian vernacular form.

¹⁵ Not ניץ, see line 22.

¹⁶ The Maghribi vernacular form.

¹⁷ خَاطَرَ ordinarily means "to bet with someone about."

¹⁸ אכין for אכד. Not an error, for it occurs in line 11 also.

¹⁹ מצחף אלנביאים?

²⁰ Vernacular in *bihill* 'alēk.

²¹ Delete ואל'.

²² אלי.

²³ See Dozy, *Suppl.*, vol. i, p. 549.

²⁴ Confusion between *شرح الأشياء* and *بجمع الأشياء*, resulting probably from interruptions in dictation.

²⁵ Palestinian vernacular *hēk* for *hēkā*.

- 14 in the sack[s]¹¹ anything [wrong] at all¹². You said in your letter: "If
 you bring out for them sacks¹³ of the new [grain],
 15 they will mix them up [with sacks of old grain." To this] they replied :
 "Do not bring out to us anything until this¹⁴ [old] is exhausted." And
 I paid them more than¹⁵
 16 a dīnār. But I¹⁶ will pay them the second dīnār and more¹⁵ as you
 directed. And I risked¹⁷ asking your brother¹⁸,
 17 in the shop of the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥabn(?), about the good manuscript
 copy of the Prophets¹⁹ which belongs to you. And he said :
 18 "I haven't been able to [give it up], because the boys read in it." And
 he said [further that] you had already written to him about it. So, if
 it is permitted²⁰ you [to do]
 19 this²¹, write to me, and I will take it away from him, willing or unwilling.
 And I said to them : "When
 20 you have bleached the yarn and finished reeling it, take whatever you
 can get among yourselves for weaving [it]
 21 and for²² embroidering it²³." And your brother¹⁸ said to me that you had
 written to him an explanation of everything²⁴. [As for] the alum :
 22 None of it has arrived, and so²⁵ prices²⁶ [are] a dīnār and a half; and I
 have offered [mine] for sale to them. Perhaps, by Allah !
 23 some of [the things] will be sold²⁷; and in [doing] that I shall not for-
 get¹⁶ the basket. [As for] the indigo : There has arrived
 24 today a second caravan, in which are 100 baskets; and they were not
 sold here. So if
 25 you have the inclination, write to me what²⁸ I should do for you in the
 matter. And if they are too much we can divide them. I
 26 will do that. [As for] the dīnārs which I left with you : Subtract (it²⁹)
 from my³⁰ [credit by taking] from³⁰ them four dīnārs.
 27 And take from them the value of the wine of yours which I have; and
 turn over the balance to Rabbi Abraham
 28 al-Ḳala'ī(?)³¹, after you have bought for me from it

Verso :

- 1 for half a dīnār sugar, and a pot of candied roses³² for(?) the Sheikh Abū
 Isaac, in which there are four roṭls;
 2 because I asked him about [that point. As to] the spikenard³³: I took
 it to the Market : by chance³⁴ into the shop of Banyās(?),

²⁶ Perhaps قِيمَة, قِيمَة, plural of قِيَمَة.

²⁷ لَعَلَّ يَنْبَأ.

²⁸ Vernacular. ²⁹ Redundant.

³⁰ عَنْ of the person, مِنْ of the thing.

³¹ The same as No. XXXIV, l. 7.

³² Or "saffron."

³³ *Andropogon nardus*, or *nardus Celtica*. See Hava, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1899 p. 331.

- 3 אבו אלפרנאס סוי מבין אלי וקיה דינאר ותלת ולם נביעהא אהב אן
 4 תעלמה בדלך פאן אכתאר אן יביעהא יפעל מא יראה וצאחבהא מחתאג'
 5 אלי כרובה וקד עז עלי תופי אל וליד אלדי כאן ענדה אללה תעאל יכלף
 עלי
 6 קלבה וקד קלת לה אנא נקרצך אן ענדי דינאר חתי יצל כתאב אלרגל פלא
 7 תגט ענה ואל חואיג אלדי תרכת[הא] ביתך לא תפרט פיהא ואלקראב
 8 אלדי לשראב לא תפרט לי פיה ואל סלה לעל תנפדהא לי צחבה ר אברהם
 9 אעלמת מולאי דלך ותרא עני מולאי אלשיך אבו יצחק בן טיבאן וולדה
 10 אלסלאם ואלשיך אבו עלי בן סלמאן אלסלאם ואל שיד אבי אלחסן יראך
 אלסל
 11 ולא יכון בר מן כתאבך ואהב מן תפצלך אן תקרא עלי מולאי שר השרים
 סלאמי
 12 ותבסט עדרי ענה לאני גאני אלסכרנה ולם נמצי אליה ולם נגתמע
 13 ביה וקד אלתית אן נסאלך פי דלך ולא [תג]פל ויצלני דלך פי כתאבך
 ושלום וקד
 14 סאלת הלאל אלאטרובלסי ען אל גונה אלדי תרכהא ענדה אברהם פקאל
 לי מעי
 15 תדכרה חתי יכרנהא ונערפך ואנא נגעלה יכרנהא ונכתב אליך בדלך
 ושלום.

Address:

[ל]מולאי אלשיך אבי עמראן מוסי בן אבי אלחי נע שארה עלאן בן יחיי נע/
 אטאל אללה בקאה וא[רא]ם תאידה ו[נע]מת[ה]

³⁴ ? عَرَضًا

³⁵ وَقِيَّة, 1.32 oz. avoirdupois. See Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1908, p. ii.

³⁶ يُخْلَف. ³⁷ تَقْرُضُكَ. ³⁸ ? تُجَطِّ

³⁹ Egyptian vernacular. ⁴⁰ Incorrect plural of قُرْبَة.

⁴¹ I.e. ותקרא, with עלי omitted. Cf. No. IX, many times. The p has been omitted here and in line 10 because it has become a hamzah, as in modern vernacular.

⁴² See No. XIII, verso, line 45.

- 3 the father of the parnās. It was worth evidently(?) up to a dīnār and a third the wīḳīyah³⁵. So I¹⁶ didn't sell it. I desire that
 4 you inform him of that; and if he prefers to sell it, let him do what he thinks best. And the owner of it has reason
 5 to be concerned(?). And the death of the boy who lived with him affected me deeply. May God the Exalted recompense³⁶
 6 his heart! And I said to him: "I¹⁶ will lend³⁷ you—I have a dīnār [for you]—until the man's letter arrives." But
 7 do not be concerned³⁸(?) about him. And [as for] the things³⁹ which I left [at] your house: Do not forget about them. And [as for] the water-skins⁴⁰
 8 which [are] for drinking-water: Do not forget about them. And [as for] the basket: Perhaps you will send it to me in the care of Rabbi Abraham.
 9 [So] I have informed my Lord of this. And give my greetings⁴¹ [to] my Lord the Sheikh Abū Isaac Ibn Ṭayyibān⁴², and his son.
 10 And the Sheikh 'Alī Ibn Salmān(?) and the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan send⁴¹ you greetings⁴³.
 11 And you will surely have to write. And I would like, if you please⁴⁴, to have you give my greetings to my Lord the Prince of Princes⁴⁵,
 12 and to present my apologies for [the circumstance] that the saucer reached me, and I¹⁶ did not go to him, nor did I¹⁶ meet
 13 him. And I have bothered [you] to ask^{46,16} about that; and do not be heedless, but let [news of its accomplishment] reach me in your [next] letter. So farewell! And
 14 I asked Hilāl⁴⁷ al-Atrūblusī⁴⁸ about the leather box which Abraham left at his house; and he said to me: "I have it."
 15 Remind him to bring it. And I¹⁶ will let you know [if he fails], and make¹⁶ him bring it, and write¹⁶ to you about that. So farewell!

Address:

[To] my Lord the Sheikh Abū 'Umrān Moses, son of Abū al-Ḥayy⁴⁹,
 whose rest [is in] Eden.....
 God lengthen his life and continue his safety and prosperity!
 [From] 'Allān, son of Yaḥyā, whose rest [is in] Eden.

⁴³ I.e. יקראך אלסלאם.

⁴⁴ مِنْ تَفَضُّلِكَ.

⁴⁵ Hebrew.

⁴⁶ Vernacular *aliḥ*, for classical اَلِئْتِ.

⁴⁷ "new moon."

⁴⁸ "of Tripoli."

⁴⁹ A certain Abū al-Ḥayy was still alive but suffering from some skin disease, when lines 8-10, No. III, *verso* were written.

XXXIV. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

Both the language and the writing are similar to those of Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII, and XXXV; and what has before been said need not here be repeated. On the *recto* the scribe uses some care; but he grows more careless, and on the *verso* his slovenliness is extreme.

Recto:

- 1 כתאבי אטאל אללה בקא מולאי אלישך אלאזל ואדאם תאידה וסלאמתה
ונעמאה
- 2 וכבת אעדאה מן אלמסתקר לך מן שבט כתמה אללה עלי מולאי באחסן
כאמה
- 3 אעלמך יא מולאי אן כרגתם כתר אללה סלאמתכם ונאלנא מן וחשתכם מא
4 אללה יעלמה וכל מן פי אלבית ואמא נהראי ולדי אחיאה אליך תכלק
עלינא
- 5 ויקול מתא יגי רבנו ואבו סעד ויקול אדיוני ענדנא ואלי אלסעה נחן
נקולו לה
- 6 הם פי אל כניסיה אסעה יגו וכאנת קלובנא בכם משגולה כיף כאן וצאלכם
7 אלי אן וצל יום אלכמים באל עשי ר אברהם אל קלעי ואל כהן ואעלמונא
בוצאלכם
- 8 עלי גמלת אל סלאמה פחדנא אללה וסאלנאה תמאם באחסאן פאחב
9 מנך יא מולאי סאעה וצולך סאלם אן שא אללה אלי סאלמין תעלמני
בוצולכם
- 10 אלי קרארכם ואחמר אללה עלי דלך וכל מן פי אסכדריה מן אצחאבנא
11 ברוכים יהיו מתוחשין לצפרכם דאעיון לכם אללא יתקבל פיכם אלדעוה
12 אל צאלחה ולא ישתתכם ולא יששתנא ען אוטאננא ותעלמני יא מולאי

¹ See XXXIII, note 1. The opening formulae of the two letters are almost identical.

² Read כאתמה.

³ Vernacular *nallána* for نَالْنَا.

⁴ "Since you have gone God only knows how we have missed you."

⁵ Aramaic.

⁶ Hebrew.

⁷ יאדיוני, if not a mistake, represents a childish pronunciation.

⁸ الساعة.

[illegible]

XXXIV. LETTER

A letter from Nathan Ben Nahrāi, in Alexandria, to Nahrāi Ben Nissīm, head of the Babylonian community in Fustāt (See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 206; vol. ii, p. 248), who is temporarily in Malīj(?). The addressee and a certain Abū Sa'd have recently visited the writer in Alexandria.

Translation is difficult at times, because the writer's constructions were mixed in his own mind before they reached the paper.

Recto:

- 1 [This is] my letter [to you]. May God prolong the life of my Lord, the most glorious Sheikh, and continue his safety and his health and his prosperity,
 2 and confound his enemies! [This letter is] from one who inquires¹ [after his health. Written] when 20 [days] of Shebhāt [had passed]. May God complete [the month] for my Lord with the best [sort] of completion²!
 3 I inform you, O my Lord: Behold you have gone—God increase your health!—and we have had³ [in the way of] bereavement of you what
 4 God [only] knows⁴. And everyone in the household [feels likewise]. And as for Nahrāi⁵, my [little] boy—[God] preserve his life to you!—he is angry with us;
 5 and says: “When will our Rabbi⁶ come, and Abū Sa'd?” And he says: “Is the ‘dentleman’⁷ here?” And up to now⁸ we have been saying to him:
 6 “They are in the synagogue⁹. They are coming directly⁸.” And we worried [about] how you arrived,
 7 until Thursday at evening Rabbi Abraham al-Kālā'ī¹⁰ and the Kōhēn arrived, and informed us of your arrival
 8 with all safety. And we praised God and asked Him for a completion [of your plans] with [His] benevolence. And I desire
 9 of you, O my Lord, when you arrive safely, if God will, among [your people who are likewise] safe, that you inform me of your arrival
 10 at your place of residence; and I shall praise God for that. And everyone in Alexandria¹¹, from among our friends
 11 —May they be blessed⁶!—is grieved at your departure¹², praying¹³ God for you [that He will] grant of you the pious prayer,
 12 and not scatter you nor scatter¹⁴ us from our native cities. And inform me, O my Lord,

⁹ See No. XXVII, note 32. Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 493.

¹⁰ See No. XXXIII, *recto*, line 28.

¹¹ אסכנדריה. ¹² ז for ד.

¹³ Vernacular form.

¹⁴ ישחתנא.

13 פי כתאבך אן כאן ננפד לך אלגאריה אלי מליג כמא קררת מעה
 14 ואן כאן ענדך פיהא ראי גיר דלך לאני מעול עלי אנפארהא אליך בער
 וצול
 15 כתאבך בדלך

Verso :

1 וכדאלך מא סאלת חצרתך פי אלאנתמאע מע אלשיך אבו
 אלמפצל פי מא
 2 יתעלק באל ליאן למלי ינעאק עלי תוגיהה ומא כתבתה לך פי אל
 תדכרה אעלמת
 3 מולאי דלך תכתין אפצל אלסלאם למולאי אל שיך אבו סעד
 סלמה²אלא²אלמה² ומולאי
 4 אלשיך אבו אל חסן יחצה באלסלאם ווליה נהראי ולדי יקבל ידה ויכצה
 אל סלאם ולאברהם
 5 אלערוס יכין חצרתה בלסלאם² ומן ענדנא סגיר וכביר ויקבלו חצרתה
 ויכצוה בלם²
 6 ויסאלה לא ינסאנא מן דעוה צאלחה² ושלום וחיים טובים אמן ונחבך לא
 תקמענא ושלום

Address :

1 חצרה מולאי החבר גדול [הי]שיבה
 מחבהא ושאכרהא נתן בן
 נהראי נע
 2 רבנו נהראי ביר נסים זל
 3 אטאל אללה בקאהא ואדאם עוהא

¹⁵ Maghribī form.

¹⁶ See *Yāqūt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. iv, p. 639, But near which Maḥallah?

¹⁷ Omission or inadvertent change of construction : $\text{لَا أَلَّيْنِ مَوْلَايَ}$.

- 13 in your [next] letter whether I¹⁵ shall send you the female slave to
 Malij¹⁶ as I agreed with him,
 14 or whether you have in regard to her another opinion, for I had made
 up my mind to send her to you after the arrival of
 15 your letter in regard to that [matter];

Verso:

- 1 and so.....I did not ask your Excellency about the meeting with the
 Sheikh Abū al-Mufaḍḍal concerning the matter which
 2 depends upon the¹⁷ — because my Lord was prevented from sending
 him¹⁸; and I did not write it to you in the memorandum. I have
 informed
 3 my Lord of this. [Please] give [my] most distinguished salutations
 especially¹⁹ to my Lord the Sheikh Abū Sa'd²⁰.....²¹, and my Lord
 4 the Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan Isaac, with greetings, and his parents²². Nahrāi,
 my boy, kisses his hand, and sends him special greetings. And to
 Abraham,
 5 the bridegroom, his Excellency, he sends especial greetings. And so do
 we, great and small, kiss his Excellency and send him especial
 greetings,
 6 and beg him not to forget us, by way of a pious wish. So, Peace and
 good health, Amen⁶! And we wish you not to cut us off. Farewell⁶!

Address:

[To] his Excellency, my Lord, the Ḥābēr, the Great One of the Yashī-
 bhah, our Rabbi Nahrāi, son of Rabbi Nissīm²³. May God prolong
 his²⁴ life and continue his²⁴ strength!

[From] his²⁴ affectionate and grateful Nathan, son of Nahrāi, whose rest
 [is in] Eden.

¹⁸ The same person as in *recto*, line 13?

¹⁹ תַּחְתִּיבִּי.

²⁰ See *recto*, line 5.

²¹ Is this a twice unsuccessful attempt to write אֱלֹהִים?

²² וואלדיה.

²³ See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 206; vol. ii, p. 248.

²⁴ נָחָא = נָח. Cf. No. II, note 25.

XXXV. LETTER

Paper $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters.

See the introductions to Nos. III, XII, XXII, XXXIII and XXXIV, which this fragment resembles in writing and language. Although the hand is careless, it is not quite so bad as that of the other fragments mentioned; and some of the characters have a different form. The language also is better. *Verso* bears earlier Arabic writing.

Recto :

- 1 כתאבי יסדי ומולאי וריסי אטאל אללה בקאך ואדאם עוזך סלך צפר ען
סלאמה
- 2 ואלחמד ללה רב אל עאלמין וכאן קד וצל אל האיך אלי הונה וסט אלעיד
וגאתני
- 3 רסאלה בוצולה וכרגת אליה ואוצל כתאבך אלמחשי אעדאר קד כאן הו
4 אשטר מני ראי אנך מתואני ואנת תריד מן יג'ך אלי דכאנך עלם [אן]
- 5 חאנה לא תנקצי לה ולא לי פמצי הו בנפסה אלי בן אלבצרי ודפע אליה אל
6 כֹּזֶר דינר ונצף עלי ל קצבה דפע אליה יום קבצה אלדנניר ה קצבאת תם
7 אסתגד אל באקי קליל וקליל ותכלין ולם יערפך כמא עמל בל ידאפעך
8 כמא קד דכרתה פלית' ערפך וכנת תמצי מעה פכאן הו ית ר' אליה
9 ויאכר כל יום וכל וקת מא סהל חתי תנקצי אל חאנה ואמא אלקעוד
10 מתי אתפק לך פרגה ונשטה מצית אליה מצי מן לא ישתר
- 11 שי אלא יד ביד וקד כנא אנא ואנת אול מא עאמלנאה מא וגרנא ענדה
12 אלא ניף ען ל קצבה ודפענא אל ק דינר ואסתופית קליל וקליל פלו כנת
דפעת
- 13 אליה אלדנניר מן וקת וצולה וקאל לך תצבר שהר לכאן אננצך פי אקרב
14 וקת ליכנך פעלת אנת פעל מן יכאף יכרג אלדאר מן ידה פלא יעוד

¹ Koran, Sūrah i, v. I.

² هَذَا.

³ Vernacular. Literally: "He was cleverer than I."

⁴ Vernacular.

⁵ al-Būṣīrī?

⁶ A ḡaṣabāh = about 11 ft. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

⁷ Vernacular *dānanīr*.

⁸ The missing letter is perhaps a deleted 'y'. The form was then *yitradd*, Egyptian vernacular for يَرْتَدُّ.

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Hebrew script, likely from a manuscript related to the Shema prayer or its variations.]

XXXV. LETTER

Two men, both Jews, have for more than forty years engaged in business together; one of them, the writer of this letter, travelling about, the other remaining at home, as indeed was often the case in partnerships. They handled general merchandise, but especially cloth. They advanced money to weavers, and took the cloth as it was produced.

The writer now complains of his partner's inertia and timidity, and of his own exertions and losses: perhaps merely the business usage of the time.

Recto:

- 1 [This is] my letter [to you], O my Lord and Master and Chief. May God
prolong your life, and continue your strength! [The month of] Šafar
has come in peace;
2 and praise belongs to God, the Lord of the Worlds¹! The weaver has
arrived here² in the midst of the Festival, and a letter
3 has come to me through his arrival. I went out to [meet] him, and he
delivered your letter, stuffed with excuses. [You write:] "He has
4 taken advantage of me³." My opinion is that you are shiftless, and want
people to come to *you* in your shop. He knew that
5 nothing⁴ would be done for him or for me [through you]; so, he went to
Ibn al-Baṣrī⁵ in person, and [the latter] paid him the
6 twenty-seven dinārs and a half on 30 ḳaṣabahs⁶. He delivered to [the
latter] on the day when he received the dinārs⁷, 5 ḳaṣabahs [of cloth].
Then
7 he did the same thing with the rest [of the cloth], little by little, and at
last it was finished. And he did not tell you how he was getting along.
On the contrary, he kept putting you off,
8 as I have said. If he had only told you, and you had gone along with
him! But he went back⁸ to [Ibn al-Baṣrī⁵],
9 and [the latter] took every day and each time what was convenient, until
the business⁴ was settled. And as for sitting idle:
10 [Tell me,] when have relief and joy⁹ ever come to you by chance? You
went to [the weaver] as one goes who does not buy
11 anything except for cash¹⁰. Now, you and I, the first time we did
business with him, found [that] he had no
12 more than a little in excess of 30 ḳaṣabahs. Yet we paid the 100 dinārs,
and you got all the rest [of the cloth] little by little. But if *you* had
paid
13 him the dinārs⁷ at the time of his arrival, and he had said to *you* "Wait
a month," it would have troubled you in a very short
14 time, because *you*¹¹ would have acted as one who fears that the house
will walk away under one's very eyes, so that the profit does not

⁹ نَشَاطَةٌ?

¹⁰ See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 849.

¹¹ لِكُونِكَ?

15 אליה אלתעדיר וצעף קסמי לא חילה וקד וקפת עלי רקעתך אלדי וצלח
 16 דרג כתאב סירי אבי אלסרור אדאם אללה עזה תדכר איש מא חצל לך
 תנפדה אול באול מא אכתאר¹²

17

Margin: (a)

יכון אלא גמלתה אדא סהלה אללה וכף עלי קלבך אלדי | יצח לי עלי
 אלסער אלדי דכרתה סה קצבה אנפדה

Margin: (b)

אליי יכו[ו]...אלבאקי נג קצבה יבקא לך נחו תמן דינר ואיד ונאקין תתבתה
 עלי סירי | אבי אלסרור חרסה אללה ולא תבעצה לי תכון מתבתין תטויל
 אל מדה ותפריק אל | שי פתרתפע מנה אל ברכה

Verso:

1 לו כאנת מעי אלף דינר ותאכר לי מנהא דל קדר הדה אלמדה כלהא
 לקד באן
 2 ותר פי חאלי סימא צעלוך תחת תעדיר ואליי הוּא נִישָׂא אֶת נִפְשׁוֹ הֲדָא
 3 קסמי לי פי צחבתך ניף עלי מ סנה תערף גירי ירד שהאדתי לי כל וקת עלי
 4 מעני וכתרת מקאסאתי ללאספאר פי
 5 הדרא אלעמר ותפצלת וועדת וקלת לא תתענא ותקאסי אלבר ואלבחר פי כל
 6 קדר אנפד אליי מא שית פאני אקום לך בשראה ואנפארה פעולת עלי קולך
 7 פלם יסאעדני קסמי לים חילה תתפצל ימולאי ותחצל לי הדה אלכג קצבה
 8 ותנפדהא מזתמעא לא
 9 מקטעה מנעמה
 10 אן שא אללה וחסבי אללה וחדה

1 لسيد بو سعد... ابن ابي سلامه بن علي بن المصري من اسراييل بن اسراييل بن دانيال

2 اطال الله بقاءه وادامه..... الفسطاط

اعز الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

5 وصل كتاب حضرة مولاي القاضي الامام اطال الله بقاءه وادامه عزه

6 وكميت عدوه واباد حاسده

¹² Hebrew.

¹³ Cf. Egyptian vernacular *dilwakt*.

¹⁴ Hebraism.

¹⁵ Hebrew. Deut. xxiv, 15.

¹⁶ "in this age."

¹⁷ (ى + مُعْنٍ) مُعْنِيَّ and (عِنِي) تَتَعَنَّ¹⁷ V. jussive).

15 return to him. My share has decreased—no deception [about it]. And
I have called attention to your epistle, which has arrived at the [same]
moment [as]

16 the letter of my Lord Abū al-Sarūr—May God continue his strength!—

You say: "What⁴ has happened⁴ to you?"

17 Send first of all what he prefers:

Margin: (a)

Let it be [anything] except the whole of it. When God has made it
easy [to do so], and you are not worried about what I am entitled to from
al-Sa'd—[the matter] which I mentioned: 65 ḳaṣabahs—send it

Margin: (b)

to me. Let the remainder, 53 ḳaṣabahs....., remain yours—about the value
of a dīnār, more or less. Charge it against my Lord Abū al-Sarūr—May God
protect him!—and do not divide it with me. Let the two [things] agreed
upon be: extension of the term, and distribution of the thing. So there
will arise from it a blessing¹².

Verso.

1 If I had had a thousand dīnārs, and you had taken this¹³ amount [from]
me for all this length of time, the

2 ruin in my condition would have been like [the ruin of] a beggar, instead
of¹⁴ profit: "And upon it he setteth his heart¹⁵." This [has been]

3 my lot in partnership [with] you [during] more than 40 years. You know
others besides me who will bear out my testimony at any time as to

4 my bitter toil¹⁷ and the greatness of my patience to [undertake] journeys

5 at my age¹⁶. You were most kind to promise and say: "Do not dis-
tress¹⁷ yourself and endure [hardship] on¹⁸ land and sea without

6 limit. Send me whatever you like, and I will see to selling it and sending
it off for you." So I relied upon your word.

7 But my share did not help me—no deception [about it]. Be so good, my
Lord, and let me have 23 ḳaṣabahs.

8 And send them together; not

9 cut up, chopped up—

10 if it please God. God only is my sufficiency!

In Arabic letters¹⁹:

1 To the Sayyid Bū Sa'd.....Ibn Abū Salāmah Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Maṣrī.
From Israel Ibn Israel Ibn Daniel.

2 May God lengthen his life and continue..... Fustāṭ.

3 May God strengthen!

4 In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate²⁰!

5 The letter of his Excellency my Lord the Kadi the Imām has arrived.

May God lengthen his life and prolong his strength

6 and confound his enemy, and destroy him who envies him!

¹⁸ ل for 'āl, Egyptian vernacular for .. عَلَى.

¹⁹ Extremely uncertain.

²⁰ Muslim formula.

XXXVI. AN ACCOUNTING

Paper $10\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Arabic in cursive Hebrew characters, distinctly written and well preserved. Decipherment would be easy, were it not for the peculiar nature of the contents.

On the *verso* are notes, in another hand, like that of No. XVIII, and apparently in Arabic; but they are badly written and badly preserved. The words "gold" and "silver" can occasionally be made out.

Recto :

בשם'

- 1 חסאב אלשיך אבו אל אפראח ערוסה יוסף
- 2 לך מעי יא סידי עדל ארגואן אלזון דקנאטיר
- 3 ונצף ורבע' אלסער יד' אלקנטר אלחמן סו
- 4 די' ורבע' ולה נצף ורבע די' שראד וחבל ונטע
- 5 ולה ה' דנא' ברסם אלמאונה אלגומלה עב' די'

- 6 אלדי כרג מאונה ען דלך חמל אלמרכב א'
- 7 ברטיל ללבחרין א' ואגב צנאעה נצף די'
- 8 כתם וגהבדה ועלאמה רקעה ומא אנצרף
- 9 לאבו מחמד תמן די' מעאדרה א' ונצף
- 10 עתאלין ב' ונצף' ספור רבע' אמין תמן

- 11 מא אנצרף פי רשיר אוגרה מרכב תמן די'
- 12 ואגב רבע' וסדם וחבה' שכין א' סאחל
- 13 רבע' מקיד נצף ותמן' כבו ללגמאל וללמחארם
- 14 רבע ותמן' מועדייה א' ג' מחארם נצף ורבע

¹ ברוך שם המפורש = בשם'.

² I.e. "three-quarters." All fractions, except two-thirds, were expressed in Egypt by unit-fractions. Thus $\frac{7}{8} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$. See L. C. Karpinski, *The History of Mathematics*, 1925, p. 121.

³ Context seems to demand these renderings of **سَعَر** and **ثَمَن**.

⁴ I.e. "you."

⁵ Without the article and with **חבל** this word must mean some commodity viewed collectively, though there is no authority for this rendering.

⁶ Cf. the plural of this word in a similar accounting, No. XIV, *verso* b, line 3.

[illegible]

XXXVI. AN ACCOUNTING

This is an account rendered by some unnamed person to Abū al-Afrāḥ 'Arūsah Joseph. No dates nor places are named.

Many different sorts of expenses, charges, officials and commodities are mentioned. One cannot be sure of the meaning of such contemporary technical terms. Also, the amounts are not always followed by the name of the coin. If the *dīnār* were everywhere assumed, the sums would often be too large.

Recto :

Blessed be the Name¹!

- 1 Account of the Sheikh Abū al-Afrāḥ 'Arūsah Joseph :
- 2 You have in my keeping, Sir, a bale of purple [goods], the weight [of which is] 4 *ḳinṭārs*
- 3 and a half and a quarter², the [purchase] price³ [of which is] 14 the *ḳinṭār*, [and] the value³ [of which is] 66
- 4 *dīnārs* and a quarter. And he⁴ has a half and a quarter² *dīnār*[s worth of] twine⁵ and rope and leather matting⁶.
- 5 And he⁴ has five *dīnārs*[worth of] clover [for] the provisioning⁷ [of the animals], the sum total [being] 72 *dīnārs*⁸.

-
- 6 What is deducted [for] provisioning from this : Ship's portorage, 1.
 - 7 *Pourboires* for the sailors, 1. Obligation of the craft⁹, a half *dīnār*.
 - 8 [Fee for] seal, and revenue-tax¹⁰, and [for] signature [on] papers, and what was paid
 - 9 to Abū Muḥammad : an eighth of a *dīnār*. Apology¹¹, one and a half.
 - 10 Porters, two and a half. Spit¹¹, a quarter. Inspector, an eighth.

-
- 11 What was expended in Rosetta : Ship's hire, an eighth of a *dīnār*.
 - 12 Obligation⁹, a quarter and a sixth, and a *ḥabbah*¹². [One] person, 1. Sea-shore¹¹,
 - 13 a quarter. Registrar, a half and an eighth². Bread for the camel-driver and for the women¹³,
 - 14 a quarter and an eighth. Ferry¹⁴, 1. Three women¹³, a half and a quarter.

⁷ بِرَّسِيمِ الْمُؤُونَةِ.

⁸ $66\frac{1}{2} + \frac{3}{4} + 5 = 72$.

⁹ Fee paid to some guild? Fee paid for the privilege of doing business?

¹⁰ جَمْعِيَّةٌ. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 226.

¹¹ Plainly written common words, but evidently in some technical or cryptic sense.

¹² I.e. "grain," "trifle." This seems to be a unit of weight and a coin. Its value is uncertain.

¹³ مَحَارِمُ plural of مَحْرَمَةٌ. ¹⁴ مَعْدِيَّةٌ

- 15 באב אלסדריה שכץ א ונצף ברנייה רבע
 16 מובית לילתין וחראסה וקלה ובואב ומפתשין
 17 ותדרה ורסאלה ודחרגה וחמל ללמכזן ג ונצף
 18 ורבע אוגרה גמל סדס ורבע קירט עמאל
 19 דיואן די וטו קירט ונצף שדאד נצף ורבע
 20 בן עין אלדולה א ונצף עתאלין ה ערצה
 21 א ונצף מקחטה ב ונצף חמל ללמורדה
 22 נצף ורבע בואבין ומפתשין ווהבה ללמקחטה
 23 וכאתב מורדה א ונצף ותמן ברטיל לבחרין
 24 ב והבה ללנקיב רבע סלפה מרכב דינאר
 25 גומלה אלורק כב קירט ונצף ועין ד דנא
 26 סוא לה מא אנצרף פי מאונה ה דנא בקי
 27 לה קירט ונצף

- 28 חסאב אלמבייע עדל ארגואן אנבאע
 29 סער ס אלקנטר אלזון פי דיואן¹⁶ אלזכיל
 30 תעד אלטרה ל סלטאן וצביאן ג ונצף אל
 31 באקי תמ ונצף אלתמן רסד וסדס ותמן
 32 כרג מן דלך עמאלה ז דנא ונצף ותמן ואגב
 33 מושתרי ז דנא וקירט צביאן וסלטאן די
 34 ונצף ורבע ותמן קלה נצף ותמן ואגב אל
 35 באב די ותלת חמל רכאבי ען בקייה
 36 סלפה ג דנא וקירט חמל ללפנדק רבאעי
 37 חמל ען ואגב דהב אלדיואן רבאעי אוגרה
 38 מכזן רבאעי אלגומלה כא ונצף וקירט

¹⁵ Abbreviated. Or perhaps another place name.

¹⁶ Colloquial *bāranīya* for بَرَانِيَّة.

¹⁷ مَمِيَّت for مَمِيَّت.

¹⁸ ? ותדרה

- 15 [At] the gate of Alexandria¹⁵: [One] person, one and a half. External¹⁶, a quarter.
- 16 Lodging¹⁷ for two nights, and guard, and a water-bottle, and door-keeper, and inspectors,
- 17 and ticket¹⁸, and letter, and rolling and carrying [of bales] to the warehouse, three and a half
- 18 and a quarter. Hire of camel, a sixth and a quarter *ķīrāṭ*. Agent
- 19 of the office, a *dīnār* and 15 *ķīrāṭs* and a half. Twine⁵, a half and a quarter.
- 20 [To] Ibn 'Ain al-Daulah, one and a half. Porters, 5. Exhibition,
- 21 one and a half. Scraper¹¹, two and a half. Carrying to the place of embarkation,
- 22 a half and a quarter. Porters, and inspectors, and gift¹⁹ to the scraper¹¹,
- 23 and the scribe of the place of embarkation, one and a half and an eighth. Pourboires for sailors,
- 24 two. And gift¹⁹ to the chief, a quarter. Breakfast [for] the ship[']s crew], a *dīnār*.
- 25 Total of the paper, 22 *ķīrāṭs* and a half. And cash, 4 *dīnārs*.
- 26 Equalled by²⁰ what was spent in provisioning, 5 *dīnārs*. Balance
- 27 to his⁴ credit, a *ķīrāṭ* and a half.
-
- 28 Account of the sale²¹ of the bale of purple [goods]. It was sold,
- 29 price 60 the *ķintār*, the weighing in the office of the representative.
- 30 Four hundred and seventy-four, tribute to the Sultan; and [to] the youths, three and a half. The
- 31 balance, 430 and a half. The value, 264 and a sixth and an eighth.
- 32 There were deducted from this: Wages, six *dīnārs* and a half and an eighth. Obligation
- 33 of the seller²², seven *dīnārs* and a *ķīrāṭ*. Youths and Sultan, a *dīnār*
- 34 and a half and a quarter and an eighth. Water-bottle, a half and an eighth. Obligation of the
- 35 gate, a *dīnār* and a third. Hauling, a *rubā'ī*²³. From the balance:
- 36 Breakfast, three *dīnārs* and a *ķīrāṭ*. Carrying to the hostelry²⁴, a *rubā'ī*²³.
- 37 Favor to the gold obligation of the office, a *rubā'ī*. Hire of
- 38 place, a *rubā'ī*. The total: 21 and a half and a *ķīrāṭ*.

¹⁵ هَبَّةٌ for وَهْبَةٌ.²⁰ سَوَّى لَهُ.²¹ for مَبِيعٍ.²² مُشْتَرَى.²³ I.e. a quarter of a *dīnār*. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 504.²⁴ فُنْدُق = πανδοχείον.

- 39 דלך מא גאב עלי אלובילי אלדי גא וזן אל
 40 ביע ואלשירי קנטרין ונצף ורטל אלסער
 41 נה בעד אלחרין ואלאגתהאד' מבלג אל
 42 תמן רמה' כרג מן דלך כא ונצף וקירט
 43 אלדי חסב עלי אלוביל ואיצא תמן זית כב
 44 ורבע וען סלפה ומאונה ו דנא' ונצף' וען
 45 סכא קסייה דינרין אלגומלה נב וסדס ותמן

Margin :

אלבאקי צא[ר] ... גיר סדס ... אשתרית מן דלך סו די' גיר סדס
 מראבשייה סער תגיר ו חבוב אלמתקאל עדרהא סח ורבאעי וקדצ' .

²⁵ شري.

²⁶ A ל has been deleted.

39 This is what the representative brought me. The result was: Weight
 of the
 40 selling and the buying²⁵, two ḳinṭārs and a half and a roṭl. The price,
 41 fifty-five, after being greedy and zealous. Amount of the
 42 value, 248. Deducted from this²⁶, 21 and a half and a ḳirāṭ.
 43 What the representative charged against me, and also value of oil, 22
 44 and a quarter. And in the way of breakfast and provisions, six dīnārs
 and a half. And in the way of
 45 generosity, though hard, two dīnārs. The total, 52 and a sixth and an
 eighth.

Margin:

The remainder amounted to ... less a sixth.....I bought from that,
 67 dīnārs less a sixth, [in] Moroccan money. Price of the exchange²⁷,
 5 ḥabbahs¹² to the mithḳāl. The number of them was 68 and a rubā'i
 and.....

²⁷ نَغِيرٌ or نَغِيرٌ.

XXXVII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{1}{8} \times 4$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The language is exceptionally good. The writing, though apparently plain, gives some difficulty because of the unusual forms of some of the letters, and the way in which they are combined.

There is no date; but the occurrence of a watermark places the fragment certainly after A.D. 1282. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 1907. Unfortunately the watermark is indistinct.

בה'

- 1 הנבון ונעלה גבירי בני כת'
- 2 אחרי רוב השלום הנה הגיע כתבו ושמחת[?]
- 3 בידעי טוב מצבתו והנה יודע כי חתני
- 4 שכר מגדל א' ישב בה עמנו כי אני
- 5 לא יכולתי ללכת להשכיר וכולנו נשב
- 6 יחד בה והנה אמש הוליך חתני יצא
- 7 את ביתו אל אסכנדר[?] גם כונתי ללכת
- 8 אני וביתי יום ב' כו' לשבת בבית חתני[?]
- 9 אף כי פה עדיין לא נתברר דבר האמת
- 10 כי יש בני אדם מרננים ומתים רבים
- 11 אבל אין דבר ברור מכל מקום אני
- 12 רוצה לצאת מפה לסיכת כי הוא
- 13 מקום מעבר ותמיד עוברים עלינו
- 14 אנשי מצרים ושם נשב קום אלעפיא
- 15 אולי ירחם ה' וישוב חרון אפו מעל
- 16 עמו ישראל גם כי יש קצת אומרים
- 17 כי המגדלים אינם בטוחים אבל כמו
- 18 שיעשו אחרים נעשה גם אנחנו ואחלה
- 19 יכתוב לי כת' כל כונתו ואשר הוא
- 20 עושה וה' יניחנו בעצתו הנכונה
- 21 ויצילנו ויצילכם מכל צרה וצוקה ומדבר
- 22 ומכפן ושלום רב מאת הצעיר
- 23 מאמן לאהבתו משה ׀ אבי דרהם
- 24 רוב שלום לאחותי יום ו ראש חדש
- 25 ושמחה מבת אדר

[illegible]

XXXVII. LETTER

From Moses Ibn Abū Dirham, to a younger man who is unnamed.

The writer is about to leave his present place of residence, and remove to Sikat⁹, near Alexandria, where he will live with his son-in-law in a "tower." There he will be safe from the present persecution, and enjoy a prosperous business upon the highway of travel.

Blessed be the Name¹!

- 1 O Intelligent and Exalted Sir, my Son, Crown of the Law²!
 2 After many greetings³: His⁴ letter has arrived; and I am glad
 3 to know⁵ of his⁴ good condition. And know that my son-in-law⁶
 4 has rented a⁷ tower⁸ to live in with us. For I
 5 cannot go to rent [one]; so, all of us are to live
 6 together in it. And last night my son-in-law went down
 7 with his household to Alexandria. [It is] my intention also to go,
 8 I and my household, Monday, the 26th, to dwell in the house of my
 son-in-law⁶,
 9 even though no trustworthy information has reached here as yet:
 10 for there are people rejoicing, and many people dead—
 11 yet there is no trustworthy information. At all events I
 12 should like to go away from here to Sikat⁹, for it [is]
 13 a place of passage; and [there will be] passing by us continually
 14 people of Egypt; so that we shall dwell there like prosperous folk¹⁰.
 15 Perhaps God¹¹ will have mercy and His anger will depart from
 16 His people Israel¹²—even though there are some who say
 17 that the towers⁸ are untrustworthy. But as
 18 others have done, [so] we also shall do. And I hope
 19 that he⁴ will write me a letter¹³ [expressing] all of his intention, and
 what he⁴
 20 [is going to] do. And may God¹¹ give us peace with His wise counsel;
 21 and deliver us and you from every anxiety and oppression, and from
 pestilence¹⁴,
 22 and from famine! Many greetings from [my] unimportant [self who]
 23 rely upon his⁴ love, Moses Ibn Abū Dirham¹⁵.
 24 { Many greetings to my sister, and joy from [my] household !
 25 { Friday, first day of the month of Adar.

¹ ברוך השם = בה.

² כתר תורה = כת.

³ For the Arabic بعد السلام.

⁴ "his" = "your," "he" = "you."

⁵ Inf. with ב and suffix.

⁶ Or "father-in-law."

⁷ אחר = א.

⁸ I.e. "strongly built house?"

⁹ Some place near Alexandria? Perhaps سَكَّة "road," the second element of the name being lost.

¹⁰ Arabic قوم العافية.

¹¹ השם.

¹² Numbers xxv, 4.

¹³ כתב.

¹⁴ ומדבר.

¹⁵ Arabic: Abū Dirham, "the man [who collects the] dirham." On this celebrated Spanish family see the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *sub voce*.

XXXVIII. POETIC BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches, folded so as to form four pages all of which are filled with writing.

Hebrew in a large square Hebrew hand, very much effaced on three of the pages.

The original verse division has been all but lost by the copyist. On *recto* (*b*) and *verso* (*a*) it can only occasionally be discovered, but on the other two pages it is quite evident, although it is not followed.

Recto: (*b*)

- 1 לביתו ורש
 2 ויאמר מלך בא [ואשל]חה [ס]פר
 3 אל כל ישראל ויב[א]ע[ם]ה[ספר]
 4 נעמן ויבא מכספו ו[מוהב]ו ויחי
 5 בקרוא מלך ישראל ויקרע ב[גדיו]
 6 בדאבן ויחי לסף שמו[נה ימים]
 7 וישלח לו [לאמר את] יי ירא . וי[בא]
 8 [נע]מן בס[וסיו] וברכבו וישלח
 9 מלך רר^פ [וטב]ול בירדן ואלהים
 10 לך למחסה ויקצף נעמן וינאץ
 11 [ויר]חב את פיהו במפשה^פ. הלא
 12 [נהרו]ת דמשק טובים [לט]בל ב[ם]
 13 ויגשו עבדיו וידברו
 14 אליו ויאמרו אבי דבר ג[דו]ל
 15 הנביא דבר [אל]יך הלא תעשה
 16 וילך סחוף ו[יטב]ול ויתחל ב[שרו]
 17 [ש]וב לה[יות כדבר] איש האלהים

Verso: (*a*)

- 1 [וימאן] לל[כת] ופגע בו לקחת [הון]
 2 [כסף] וזהב וכל מקח ויאמר חי יי
 3 [א]שר עמדתי לפניו אם אקה .
 4 ויאמר צעקתי קרבני במשאות
 5 אדמה במ[רין] רצוני שוב

¹ Cf. al-Harizī, *Tahkemōnī*, Chapter iii.

XXXVIII. POETIC BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES

This fragment seems to contain remnants of poetic paraphrases of Biblical passages¹, at times with rime and division into verses, but with no apparent meter.

Verso (*b*) and *recto* (*a*) have been rearranged so as to display the intended verse division and rime. This was not possible with the other two pages. Conjectural text supplied between brackets by Professor Gottheil has been translated without brackets.

Recto: (b)

- 1 to his house and.....
 2 ²And the King said: "Go now, and I will send a letter
 3 unto all Israel." So there went with the letter
 4 Naaman. And he took of his silver and of his gold. And it came to
 pass,
 5 when the King of Israel read, that he rent his garments
 6 in sorrow. And it came to pass at the end of eight days
 7 that he sent to him, saying: "Fear the Lord!" And Naaman
 8 came with his horses and his chariot. And [the] King
 9 sent [word, saying]: "Go down and dip [thyself] in the Jordan; and
 God [will be]
 10 for thee a refuge." And Naaman became angry, and spurned [him],
 11 and he opened his mouth, making it wide, [and he said]: "Are not the
 rivers of
 12 Damascus good to dip [oneself] in?"
 13And his servants drew near and spake
 14 unto him and said: "My Father, a great thing
 15 the Prophet hath spoken unto thee. Wilt thou not do [it]?"
 16 And he went humbly, and dipped [himself]; and his flesh began
 17 to return to being as the Man of God had spoken.

Verso: (a)

- 1 And he refused to go.....and he begged him to accept goods:
 2 silver and gold and every [sort of] gift. And he said: "As Jehovah
 liveth,
 3 before whom I stand, I will receive none."
 4 And he said: "I cried out: 'Approach me with presents
 5 of earth. Earnestly³ I wish to repent.

² The following is based upon II Kings, Chap. v.

³ מְרַצֵּן, מְרַצֵּן, מְרַצֵּן: inventions to rime with מְרַצֵּן. See Zunz, *Zur Synagogalen Poesie*, pp. 314, 385; *Literaturgeschichte d. S. P.*

- 6 אפתה לאל שוכן שמי ערין.
 7 [ת]חבולות מאד ארבה בהשתחוותי
 8 פני בתרין. ויאמר לו לך לשלום
 9 ו[ילך מע]תו כברת ארין. ועל
 10 שפת [הי]ם/ אהרי מות/
 11 אזכרה היום יום החמה והחרון.
 12 [ב]השרף השרפה מול פני הארון.
 13 וידבר יי' אל מֹשֶׁה אֵלֶּיךָ בְּאֵי
 14 [ג]ורו לכם מפני משנה שברון.
 15 [דמו]ת יום זה תהי לכם לזכרון.
 16 ויאמר יי' אל משה דבר אל אֵל הַנְּנִי
 17 מעלה לך ארוכה שימנה לְעֶנְק
 18 לג [רנך] על ספר חוקה ותהי ליום
 19 אחר[ון] בואה ין יבא

Verso: (b)

- 1 תפנה מרשות תך היה דורש וחוק[ר] לא תעש[ק] את
 2 רעך ולא תגזול [ולא] תלין פעולת שכיר אתך עד בוקר.
 3 ביטה במדרש שלשה חדשים וסוד ממתי מחשול
 4 ראה בדת שלשה עורים ופזר ביותר ושול תשול[ל]
 5 לא תקלל חרש ולפני עור לא ת[תן] מכשול.
 6 בעשרה דברים שב[הם] אין לדין תבין ומעול חדל מח[דול].
 7 יום תראה הדין מרומם מדבר שקר בדל לך מברול.
 8 לא תעשה עול במשפט לא תשא פני דל ולא תהדר פני גדול.
 9 ירא את יי' ואל תהי רכיל מגלה סוד חבריך ויודעיך.
 10 צמת שלשה רופדין והצל שלשה נרדפי' בנפשם וחכה לבא [י]שעך.
 11 לא תלך רכיל בעמך ולא תעמוד [על] דם רעך.

⁴ The portion of the law (Leviticus xvi, 1-18, 30) read upon the Day of Atonement.

⁵ Job xix, 29.

⁶ Jeremiah xvii, 18.

⁷ Exodus xii, 14.

⁸ Isaiah xxx 8.

⁹ Leviticus xix, 13 ff.

¹⁰ For הַבִּיטָה.

- 6 I will return to God, who dwells in [the] awful³ heavens.
 7 I will greatly multiply deceptions when I bow
 8 my face in reverence^{3,7}. And he said to him: "Go in peace."
 9 And he departed from him a little way.—And [add here the poem which
 begins with the words]: "On
 10 the shore of the sea"; and "After the death of [the two sons of Aaron⁴]:
 11 Let me remember today the Day of Fury and Anger,
 12 when a great burning appeared before the Ark,
 13 and Jehovah spake unto Moses, after the death of the two sons of Aaron⁴.
 14 Be ye afraid of⁵ a repeated disaster⁶.
 15 Let the like of this day be unto you a reminder⁷.
 16 And Jehovah said unto Moses: "Speak unto Aaron: 'Behold I
 17 bring unto you a healing; make of it a necklace,
 18 around thy neck; in a law book, and that it may remain unto [the] last
 day^{8,1}!"
 19

Verso: (b)

- 1 Turn thou away from the possessions of thy.....has sought and
 inquired after. ⁹Thou shalt not oppress
 2 thy neighbor, nor rob him: the wages of a hired servant shall not abide
 with thee all night until the morning.
 3 Examine¹⁰ [the Scriptures] by exegesis three months, and turn from men
 of weakness (?)¹¹.
 4 Regard the law of three blind men, and scatter more widely, and draw out¹¹.
 5 Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the
 blind.
 6 [The] Ten Commandments—concerning which no one is entitled to
 judge—shalt thou examine; and from the unrighteous [shalt thou] turn
 away¹¹.
 7 On the day when thou seest [pretended] justice exalting itself, speaking
 lies, separate thyself with a separation¹¹.
 8 Thou shalt do no unrighteousness in judgment. Thou shalt not respect
 the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty.
 9 Fear Jehovah, and be not a [carrier of] slander, revealing the secrets¹²
 of thy neighbors and thy friends.
 10 Destroy three pursuers¹³, and deliver three pursued in their persons, and
 await the coming of thy salvation.
 11 Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer among thy people, neither
 shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbor.

¹¹ מְחַשׁוֹל, מְחַדּוֹל and מְבַדּוֹל are purely artificial nouns invented to rime with מְכַשׁוֹל
 and מְבַדּוֹל. תְּשׁוֹל: cf. Ruth ii, 16.

¹² Proverbs xi, 13.

¹³ Read רודפין.

12 חדל לך משנא[ה] והוכיח תוכיח את עמיתך.

13 ק[וה] אל " ויושיע[ך ואה] בת[לרעך].

Recto: (a)

1 לא תשנא את [אחיך בלבבך] הלא עמ

2 מנקמה ונ[ט]ירה פרוש לך והוי זהיר לשיוך לתמוכה.

3 את הכלל ה[גדו]ל הזה שבתורה אחז בו לסמוכה.

4 לא תקום ולא תטר אב ע וא ל כמ.

5 חוקתי תשמרו ותהיו נש[מ]רים.

6 [שדה] כלאי זרעים [וכ]לאי בהמה וכלאי בגדים מחוברים.

7 [למען] זאת א[כ]פיל לכם שכר [מא]תכם נשכרים. אני " דבר [צד]ק מגיד מישרים.

8 ק[בל] את שכרה יום זה אתמ. . בית [יש] כהשמיע נביא להמוני תמט¹⁴ שכמם.

9 ויהי בשנה [השביעית ב]חמישי בעשור [לחדש] באו אנשים מזקני [יש] לדר[ו]ש

10 את " וישבו [לפני]

¹⁴ Leviticus xix, 17 ff.

¹⁵ Not the expected לרעך.

XXXIX. FRAGMENT OF MAIMONIDES

Paper $6 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

A portion of the *Yād ha-Hazākāh* of Maimonides, corresponding to chapter vi, sections 17–21 of the edition of Jessnitz, 1739. Of section 21 the first three words only are written.

- 12 Cease thou from hatred, [yet] thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbors.
 13 Hope in Jehovah and He will save thee, and love thy neighbor.

Recto: (a)

- 1¹⁴Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbor.
 2 From vengeance and spite shut thyself off. And be thou attentive to thy.....¹⁵ to uphold [him].
 3 This great command which is in the Law, take hold of it [as something] steadfast:
 4 Thou shalt not take vengeance, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.
 5my laws ye shall keep, and ye shall be kept.
 6 A field with two sorts of seed, and two sorts of cattle; and two sorts of garments, combined, [are forbidden].
 7 Because of this I shall multiply unto you the produce of those [fields which are] rented by you. ¹⁶I, Jehovah, speak righteousness, I declare things that are right.
 8 The house of Israel received its reward this day.....when a prophet made the multitude around me.....hear.....their shoulders(?).
 9 ¹⁷And it came to pass in the seventh year, in the fifth [month], the tenth [day] of the month, that certain of the elders of Israel came to inquire
 10 of Jehovah, and sat before me.

¹⁶ Isaiah xlv, 19.

¹⁷ Ezekiel xx, 1.

XXXIX. FRAGMENT OF MAIMONIDES

Variants. In section 18, after **והפנימי** are four (?) words of which only the first, **לבן**, and the third, **עוף**, are legible; **מותר** for **מותרת**; **טר** after **ראשו האחד** for **ראשו אחד**; **בכולו** for **בכולו**; **אבל** wrongly omitted (cf. *Shulḥan 'Arūkh*, *Yörēh De'āh*, *Hilkhōth Terēphōth*, section 43). In section 20, **הכמים** omitted; **האיברים** inserted after **יותר מן**; **ניטל** for **ניטל**, unless the **ה** belongs to the following word; **מותרת** for **מותרת**; **מכלל** for **מכלל**; **היותר** for **היתר**.

XL. LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A MARRIAGE BROKER

Paper $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches, folded lengthwise so as to form four pages, all of which are filled with writing in the jumbled fashion of a note-book.

Arabic and Hebrew in half-square Hebrew characters.

This Jewish text has, quite uniquely, in addition to the usual Hebrew alphabetic numerals, Coptic numerals, arranged in a column, and scattered throughout the text. It is often impossible to see their relation to the adjacent words. They are Greek alphabetic numerals, in the cursive form employed by Christian Copts after they had given up Coptic for Arabic. In the absence of special type they must here be represented by the usual Coptic alphabetic numerals with the superior stroke. Except where the figures have a direct relation to the text they have been omitted in the Translation, because they cannot be reproduced typographically without making the page unintelligible.

The date is A.D. 1511.

Recto: (a)

דולסא

באטנה יחיי

יהודה אבן גוא

בִּשְׁעָה מְעוֹלָה

1 אלתקוים אלסעיד פי לילת אלאחד תאמן

2 יום שהר טבת שנת אתתכג לשטרות עלי

3 אלתחן הזקן ר יהודה בר שלמה נע בר מאיר

4 נע ידיע בן גוא אלכלה הבתולה הבוגרת

5 הקרואה דולסא בר ר יצחק סט בר יוסף

6 ידיע נעמן

אלמאחר

7 אלמוקדם

ⲁⲗ

ⲕ

8 מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן וכסותה עליו והדורה

והוא

9 ביד החתן אלנרוניא כאתם דהב מלך

ⲁⲗ

10 שמלה ורכש דהב בטרטמיר ורכש דהב כשמארין

הובנע

11 לולו ורקאין דהב זיק דהב בזואיה ג אזואג אסאור

¹ Evidently Spanish for "sweet." The girl seems to have had no Jewish name.

² In a different hand. The name occurs in line 4. Very uncertain vocalisation.

³ Seleucid Era, beginning 312 B.C., which makes 1823=A.D. 1511.

[illegible]

XL. LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A
MARRIAGE BROKER

In spite of the large square Hebrew titles, this is not a document nor a series of documents. The lack of legal precision and the jumbled condition of the pages show that it is a double leaf out of the note-book of some marriage broker, possibly a rabbi. It is simply a memorandum of the circumstances attending the marriage of certain persons, named; and is chiefly concerned with the invoicing of the brides' paraphernalia.

The *muḳdām* and the *me'uḥār* seem to refer to the old formal betrothal and the marriage proper, which at this time were beginning to be celebrated in quick succession. See Aaron Ben Elia of Nicomedia (ca. A.D. 1300–1369), *Gan Eden*, ed. Goslava, 1866, p. 142b, on Exodus xxi, 2. Professor Gottheil believes that, unless the Rabbinites had accepted the Karaite formula, it will be necessary to suppose that we are dealing with Karaite documents.

Recto: (a)

Confidential [memorandum of] Yaḥyā [as to] Dulce¹
[and] Judah Ibn Jiwā'²

In a Propitious Hour!

- 1 This auspicious invoice [has been made] on the first night [of the week, the] eighth
- 2 day of the month of Ṭēbhēth, [of] the year of documents 1823³, with reference to
- 3 the bridegroom⁴, the Elder, Rabbi Judah Bar Solomon Bar Mē'ir,
- 4 known as Ibn Jiwā', [and] the bride⁴, the marriageable virgin
- 5 called Dulce, daughter⁵ of Rabbi Isaac Bar Joseph—A good omen!—
- 6 known as Naaman.
- 7 The advanced [gift]⁶, 20. The delayed [gift]⁶, 64⁷.
- 8 The bride's handiwork [shall belong] to the bridegroom, but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense. And her ornamentation
- 9 the bridegroom has received. The dowry⁸ is a ring of royal gold,
- 10 a garment, and a clasp⁹ of gold with conical caps, and a clasp of gold, two Cashmere shawls¹⁰,
- 11 a pearl, and a dancer of gold, a collar [with] gold at the corners¹¹, three pairs of bracelets

⁴ Hebrew and Aramaic words creep in; and Hebrew words are often used with the Arabic article.

⁵ בר for ברת? בר apparently for בַּר and not רבי בן in this document.

⁶ Hebrew מִנְיָן and מִנְיָן.

⁷ The sign for 60 seems to have been deleted.

⁸ נְדָוְיָה. ⁹ רֶכֶס. Above there is an unintelligible word.

¹⁰ For בְּשִׁמְרִין.

¹¹ For זִוְאִיָּא.

- 12 פֶּצֶה אַחֵר מְטֵלָה ה' כּוֹאֲתֶם פֶּצֶה בְּפִצּוֹן אַחֲרֵם סֹאדָג
 13 וְכֹאֲתֶם עֵקֶק ד' סְלֹאסֵל וְחֵק עֵאג
 14 מְנִדִּיל סְנַנְדְּרִי בְקֶצֶב
 15 נֶצֶף מְנִדִּיל בְּקֶצֶב מְנִדִּילִין סְנַנְדְּרִי מְנִדִּיל ה' נֶצֶף
 מֶרֶם בַּחֲבֵבָה
 16 בֶּכְ ה' בְּנֶף בַּח קֶצֶב וְשִׁמְלָה
 הֶרְמוֹזִי בְנֶפְסִי
 17 בֶּכְ ה' בְּנֶף בַּח קֶצֶב מְנִדִּיל ה' בְּנֶף בְּקֶצֶב
 וּמִרְתַּעֵשׁ
 18 בְּכֶנֶק ה' דֶּם אֶלְגֹּזָל בַּח
 19 אֶצְמַנְבוּלִי בְּכֶנֶק ה' בַּח אֶצְמַ
 וּטְרַח וְעֶצְאִיב
 20 וְעִבּוּט מְגִרְבִּי ה' זַעֲאִיבִיט
 וְגִיר דֶּלֶךְ עֵדָא
 אֶלְתֵּמֶן
 21 כְּאֶמְלִיָּה כְּאֶמְכָּה אֶזְרֵק וְכֹאֲמַ כְּמִכָּה אֶכְצֵר
 22 קֶשֶׁר בְּאֵרִי אֶבִּיאֲרִי גֹבֵה דֶּם אֶלְגֹּזֵל שְׁאִיָּה
 קֶרְמוֹזִי
 אֶלְתֵּמֶן

Recto: (b)

- 1 סְתֹאֲרָה בִּיעָה בַּחוּאֲשִׁי חֵרִיר דְּאִיר קֶצִין
 בַּחוּאֲשִׁי חֵרִיר
 2 מְלֹאֲתִין בִּיץ וּמְנִדִּיל אֶבִּיץ
 3 ד' מְכַד סְפֹאֲרִי בִיץ

¹² سادج.

¹³ For סְנַנְדְּרִיָּה.

¹⁴ See below. Hormuz is an island in the Persian Gulf.

- 12 of silver, one [of them] gilded, five rings of silver, one of them uncut¹²,
 13 and an agate ring, four chains and boxes of ivory,
 14 an Alexandrine kerchief with gold thread,
 15 half a kerchief with gold thread, two halves of two Alexandrine¹³ kerchiefs,
 a Hormuzī¹⁴ striped¹⁵ kerchief with a silk ḥabara¹⁶,
 16 a purple Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara of gold thread¹⁷, and a purple
 Hormuzī garment,
 17 a purple Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara of gold thread, a purple Hormuzī
 kerchief with gold thread, and a trembler¹⁸,
 18 a gazelles' blood Hormuzī veil with a ḥabara,
 19 a Stamboul veil—five [of them]—with a Stamboul ḥabara,
 20 a Maghribi [woollen] smock—five [woollen] smocks,
 18–20 two pairs of drawers, and shadds¹⁹, and a tarḥ²⁰, and 'iṣābahs¹⁹, and
 a lamp-cover, and [other things] besides this, in number, 13, the
 value, 10,
 21 a kāmiliyah²¹ of native blue damasquette, and a kāmiliyah of green
 damasquette,
 22 a Bedouin garment of abyārī²², a gazelles' blood jacket²³, articles²⁴ of
 crimson cloth,

Recto: (b)

- 1 a white veil with borders of silk, [something to wrap] about the breast,
 with borders of silk,
 2 two white dressing-gowns, and a white kerchief,
 3 four white safārī²⁵ combs²⁶.

¹⁵ مَرَسَر. ¹⁶ The modern name for a sort of black veil.

¹⁷ I.e. بَخْنَقْ هَرْمُزِي بَنْفَسَجِي بِحَبْرَة قَصَب. See below.

¹⁸ Perhaps the fanciful name of some ornament for the head.

¹⁹ A kind of turban. For these names see the appropriate articles in Dozy, *op. cit.*

²⁰ A kind of veil.

²¹ A kind of robe.

²² A thin fabric. The phrase sounds Persian, although the first two words are of Arabic origin: قَشِير بَادِي اَبْيَارِي.

²³ For جَبَّة.

²⁴ For شَيْء, a plural of أَشْيَاء.

²⁵ Some commercial or geographical term.

²⁶ مَكْد is singular because the plural (مَكَدَات) was not used. See lexicons. The first adjective then remained singular, while the second became plural under the influence of the remembered numeral.

- 4 ונכנסו לחופה פי לילת אלכמים תאני ^{ⲡⲉ} ^Ⲭ
 5 עשר יום מן שהר תאריכה אלעד אלתאני
 6 ואלכתובה אנדהא שמואל כראבלים סט ^{ר' נתן}
 7 אלחאשר ליוצלהא לואלד אלכלה

Inverted :

השבויה אסתר

יהודה מגרבי

בשעה מועלה

- 1 בתאריך יום אלאחד תאמן יום מן שהר טבת
 2 שנת אתתכנ לשטרות חצל מואפקה בין
 3 יהודה בר יעקב בר אהרן ובין הכלה
 4 השבויה הקרואה אסתר ברת ר' משה
 5 סט בר יעקב ידיע ^{החכם} כחלי
 6 אלמוקדם והוא פדיונה אלמאחר
 7 מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן וכסותה עליו ^{ⲡⲏ} ^Ⲭ
 8 והדירה ביד החתן
 9 והירושה כדין תורה
 10 שהבעל יורש את אשתו
 11 ואם חס ושלום ימות הבעל ויניח בנים ממנה
 12 לא תטול מהכתובה כי אם מאה פרחים לבד
 13 ומה שישאר יהיה לבנים ואם יגרש תקח
 14 המאה ושמונים הכתובים לה בשלימות
 15 ונכנסו לחופה פי יום אלגמעה תאלת
 16 עשר יום מן שהר תאריכה ואלכתובה
 17 אנדהא אלחאשר שמואל כראבלים ליוצלהא

²⁷ I.e. four days after the body of the memorandum. These lines, 4-7, were then added, in the same hand, though somewhat larger.

²⁸ I.e. besides the writer of the memorandum.

²⁹ Hebrew.

³⁰ For ^{ⲕⲣⲁⲓⲙⲓ} or ^{ⲡⲣⲁⲓⲙⲓ}?

- 4 And they went under the marriage canopy on Thursday night, the twelfth
5 day of the month, the present year²⁷. The other²⁸ witness²⁹ [was] Rabbi Nathan.
6 And [as for] the marriage writ, Samuel Karāblis³⁰,
7 the collector, has taken charge of it, in order to bring it to the father of the bride.

Inverted:

Judah Maghribi

The captive, Esther

In a Propitious Hour!

- 1 On the date of the first day [of the week], eighth day of the month of Ṭēbhēth,
2 year of documents 1823³, an agreement was reached between
3 Judah Bar Jacob Bar Aaron, and the bride,
4 the captive⁴, [who is] called Esther, daughter of Rabbi Moses³¹
5 —A good omen!—son of Jacob the Wise, known as Kuḥli³².
6 The advanced [gift]—and it is her ransom⁴—50. The delayed [gift], 180.
7 The bride's handiwork [shall belong] to the bridegroom, but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense.
8 And her ornamentation the bridegroom has received.
9 And the estate [is to be divided at death] according to the [Pentateuchal] Law:
10 that the husband inherits [the goods of] his wife.
11 And if—which God forbid!—the husband should die, and leave behind sons by her,
12 she shall not [take] from the dowry more³³ than a hundred perāḥīm³⁴;
13 and what remains shall belong to the sons. And if he should divorce [her], she shall take
14 the hundred and eighty credited to her in the marriage writ, in [their] entirety³⁵.
15 And they went under the marriage canopy on Friday, the thirteenth day of the month, the present year³⁶. And [as for] the marriage writ,
17 Samuel Karāblis³⁰, the collector, has taken charge of it, in order to bring it

³¹ Above the line, but deleted, החכם.

³² I.e. "dealer in collyrium," or "dark about the eyes."

³³ An arabism?

³⁴ I.e. "blossoms." Name of some coin?

³⁵ For בְּשִׁלְמוֹת.

³⁶ I.e. five days after the body of the memorandum. These lines, 15–19, were added, in the same hand, though somewhat larger.

18 לאהל אלכלה אלעד אלתאני ר' נתן סט

Verso: (a)

קמר	סקליין	יחיי
פצה	רהב	כאמליה ¹
$\overline{\text{I}\zeta}$	$\overline{\text{A}}$	
$\overline{\text{E}}$	$\overline{\text{I}}$	קמיין חריר ²
$\overline{\text{A}}$	$\overline{\text{A}}$	תפצילה בלדי ³
$\overline{\text{K}\text{A}}$		כאם יא דראע ⁴
$\overline{\text{K}\text{A}}$		מנדיל בלדי ⁵
$\overline{\text{K}\text{I}}$		שדין שער ⁶
$\overline{\text{I}\text{E}}$		בכנק שאמי חריר ⁷
$\overline{\zeta}$		שעריה ⁸
$\overline{\text{E}}$		מיוזר ⁹
$\overline{\text{E}}$		מנשפה ¹⁰
$\overline{\text{A}}\text{C}$		נצף מנדיל ¹¹
$\overline{\text{B}}$	$\overline{\text{A}}$	כאמליה סכנדר ¹²
$\overline{\text{A}\text{I}}$		בכנק הרמזי אכצר ¹³
$\overline{\text{A}\text{H}}$		בכנק אורק ¹⁴
$\overline{\text{K}\text{H}}$		ארבע אדרע הרמזי אצפר ¹⁵
$\overline{\text{I}}$		נצף דראע הרמזי אסוד ¹⁶
$\overline{\text{I}\text{B}}$		מנדיל בלדי ¹⁷
$\overline{\zeta}\text{C}$		נקאב בלדי ¹⁸
$\overline{\text{I}\text{E}}$		שר אצפר ¹⁹
$\overline{\text{E}}\text{C}$		ברקה הרמזי ²⁰
$\overline{\text{B}}$		קבקאב ²¹
$\overline{\zeta}$		עצאיב ואקראין ורק ²²
		מרכוב ²³

³⁷ As in the first case.

³⁸ For $\overline{\text{A}\text{I}}$ if this is the meaning.

18 to the bride's people. The other²⁸ witness²⁹ [was] Rabbi Nathan³⁷.

Verso: (a)

Yahyā	[They are] Sicilians ³⁸	Ḳamar ³⁹	
		Gold	Silver
1 A red kāmiliyah ²¹ ,		4	17
2 a silk shirt,		3	5
3 a piece of native dress-goods,		1	4
4 a cut ⁴⁰ [of cloth], 11 cubits,			24
5 a native kerchief,			21
6 two shadds ¹⁹ of [camels'] hair,			23
7 a Syrian silk veil,			15
8 a sha'rīyah ²⁰ ,			7
9 a mi'zar ²⁰ ,			6
10 a towel,			5
11 half a kerchief,			4½
12 an Alexandrine ¹³ kāmiliyah ²¹ ,	4	2	
13 a green Hormuzī veil,			43
14 a blue veil,			38
15 four cubits of yellow Hormuzī [stuff],			28
16 half a cubit of black Hormuzī [stuff],			3
17 a native kerchief,			10
18 a native niḳāb ²⁰ ,			12
19 a yellow shadd ¹⁹ ,			7½
20 an irregular piece of Hormuzī [stuff],			16
21 wooden sandals,			5½
22 'iṣābahs, and head-discs of sheet metal,			2
23 shoes,			7

³⁹ Arabic for "Moon." Cf. note 1.

⁴⁰ Cf. كَأْسَة in Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 435.

Verso: (b)

פצה

כ

כ

1 חלאוה וגירהא

2 מא ורר וגאוי וזברה

3 זוגא זנגין אסאור פצה

פצה

רהב

4 וכאתמין רהב

כ

כ

5 וכאתמין פצה

T00c

כ

6 ואשרפי רהב

כ

רהב
כ

פצה

7 גמלה אלחואיג

T0c

8 מע אלאשרפי ואל. גאדי.

9 ואלכואאתם

10 $\overline{\lambda e}$ אשרפי

11 תם אן אצחק זוג אם אלכלה תסלם

12 גמיע מא פי אלקאימתין עלי סביל אלודאע

13 ללכלה ואנה יוצלהם ללחתן יחיי פי לילת

אלחופה

14 כניסה לחופה על חג הפסח ואלזם כניסה

15 אלחתן יחיי אנה מן יום תאריכה אלי לילה כניסה

16 לחופה ימוון אלכלה

17 אלחתן יחיי בר נסים נע בר מנחם נע ידיע

18 חנון אלכלה הנערה בת שתים עשרה שנה

19 הקרואה קמר ברת מעשה ידי הכלה לחתן

20 וכסותה עליו והדירה

21 אלמוקדם אלמאזחר ביד החתן באלקאהרה

22 $\overline{\lambda e}$ $\overline{\lambda e}$

⁴¹ Made of sesame-seed residue, with honey and sugar.

⁴² Perhaps a pomade containing butter as a base, rose-water as a scent, and another substance. If, in spite of the dot, one may read ghāwī, then one may translate "seductive" or "fashionable." See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 232.

⁴³ See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 605.

Verso: (b)

		Silver
1 ḥilāwah ⁴¹ , and other [sweets],		30
2 rose-water and jāwī and butter ⁴² ,		23
3 a pair of cymbals ⁴³ , bracelets of silver,		
4 and two rings of gold,	Gold	Silver
5 and two rings of silver,	7	11
6 and an ashrafī ⁴⁴ of gold,	19	369½
	Gold	
	33	11
7 Total of the things ⁴⁵		Silver
8 with the ashrafī and the.....		19½
9 and the rings		
10	35 ashrafis ⁴⁶	
11 Then Isaac, the husband of the bride's mother, handed over		
12 all that is in the two lists, in the way of a deposit		
13 for the bride, and in order that he should deliver them to the bridegroom,		
Yaḥyā on the night of		
14 going under the marriage canopy, during (?) the Feast of the Passover ²⁹ .		
And the bridegroom Yaḥyā made it a necessary condition of going		
under the marriage canopy,		
15 that from that date till the night of going under		
16 the marriage canopy, he should provide food ⁴⁷ for the bride.		
17 The bridegroom [is] Yaḥyā Bar Nissīm Bar Menahem, known as		
18 Ḥanūn. The bride [is] the twelve year old girl,		
19 called Ḳamar, daughter of ^{29, 48}		
20		
21 The advanced [gift],	The delayed [gift],	
22 35	55	
19 The handiwork of the bride [shall belong] to the bridegroom,		
20 but her clothing [is to be supplied] at his expense. And her ornamentation		
21 the bridegroom has received, in Cairo.		

⁴⁴ According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. i, p. 976, the old dinār (66 grains) ceased to be *struck* in Egypt in 1346, and the first ashrafis (53.8 grains) were struck in Egypt between A.D. 1362 and 1376 or 1421 and 1438. See No. XXX, Introduction, and notes 19, 23.

⁴⁵ Egyptian colloquial.

⁴⁶ The sums 19 and 369½ are correct for these columns of figures. The meaning of the remaining figures on this page, as well as of those on *recto a* and *b*, is not clear.

⁴⁷ For ^{رسول} *ṣayyūn*.

⁴⁸ The father's name was never filled in.

Surrounding last four lines:

וכאן דלך גמיעה פי בית | אב הדיין בר | שמואל זל ובחצור יוסף אלסופר
ובעין | עשר | מן אלקהל ב"י

Inverted:

מקבון לילת אלאחר סאבע | שהר כסליו שנת אתתכג לשטרות | אלעד
אלתאני ר נתן סט | פצל פריכה מוסי נקוב

Across verso:

ולמא תראצו עלי דלך גמיעה פקד לה | קידושין גמורין פי לילת אלתאנין
תאני יום מן שהר טבת שנת | תאריכה | אלעד אלתאני פי | אלקידושין
איצא | ר' נתן סט

Margin of verso:

בתאריך לילת אלגמעה תאני עשרין שהר כסליו שנת אתתכג לשטרות

Surrounding last four lines:

And all this was [done] in the house of Abraham, the Dayyān, son of Samuel, and in the presence of Joseph the Scribe and upwards of ten [persons] from the congregation, assembled.

Inverted:

Done on the first night [of the week], seventh [day of] the month of Kislēw, [the] year of documents 1823³. The other witness²⁸ [was] Rabbi Nathan³⁷. [Signed:] Faḏl Farīkah(?) Moses Nāḡūb(?)⁴⁹

Across verso:

And after they had reached a satisfactory agreement about all this ⁴[the bridegroom] arranged for her [the] final betrothal-rites, on Monday night, the second day of the month of Ṭēbhēth, the year of the date [of this memorandum]. The other²⁸ witness²⁹ at the betrothal-rites also was Rabbi Nathan³⁷.

Margin of verso:

On the date of Friday night, twenty-second [day] of the month of Kislēw, [of] the year of documents 1823³.

⁴⁹ Lines 23-26 are written in a different hand.

XLI. LETTER

Paper $11\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters. The writing is unlike any other in this collection. A character resembling a small inverted, suspended Latin h is often used for abbreviations, and in other places where its function is not clear. Cf. the muhmlah sign in MSS. and upon glass weights.

The mention of the *maiyaḏī* places the fragment certainly later than A.D. 1412. See note 13 and No. XXX.

Recto:

בְּעָה

- 1 איש חיל רב פעלים נבון ומעולה כהר" נס" אחרי
- 2 רוב השלם באתי בשורותים אלו להודיע כי היום
- 3 בבקר כתבתי בארוכה והנה מענין הסוכר לא מצאתי
- 4 שום ערך כי מה שכתב הגביר שנתנה לי עשרה
- 5 פחות רביע ולא מכרתי יודע לך כי באמת אלו
- 6 נתנו לי ט' וחצי היתי מוכר ולא היתי מעכב
- 7 אבל יודע לך כי בא פה הסוכר יום ששי עת
- 8 ערב ודברתי עים כר" יצחק מאיו שידבר עים
- 9 הערל ישו" ואמר שאניחנו בדיון עד יום ראשון
- 10 והלכתי אצלו יום ראשון ובא ופתח הסוכר ולא"
- 11 הוכשר בעיניו ואמר לי כהר" יצחק שאמתין ב"
- 12 ימים עד שיראה שמא ימצא אצלו מעות"
- 13 כי לא נמצא אצלו מעות ולכן לא נתרצה והנה"
- 14 לא עשיתה בחוכמה כי האמנתה לדבריו ולא
- 15 לקחת" ממנו שום מעות ולא עשיתה עימו שום
- 16 עקד לכן כשבא התל בנו וכש" כי אמר לי הגביר
- 17 שלא ישלח לו שום סוכר והדוגיאות נתן בו"

1 בְּעִזְרַת הַשֵּׁם.

2 כְּבוֹד [ה] רַב.

3 Equivalent to Arabic *بعد السلام*.

4 Double plural.

5 מְעַנֵּין.

6 I.e. "you."

7 שְׁנֵתְנָה.

8 יוֹדֵעַ.

9 הִיְיָתִי.

¹⁰ A certain Raphael Isaac Ben Aaron Mayo, or Maggio, who died in A.D. 1810, is recorded in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. viii, p. 392.

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a manuscript or a collection of letters. The handwriting is cursive and fills most of the page area.]

XLI. LETTER

A rambling letter from one Solomon, perhaps in Jerusalem, to one Joseph (or Nissim?), perhaps in Cairo, about several business matters, especially the sugar trade. Solomon professes to be too much engrossed in Bible study, and too pessimistic about sugar, to undertake any business ventures.

In places it is very difficult to make satisfactory sense of the text.

Recto :

With the help of the Name [of God]¹!

- ¹ [To the] Man of Valor, Active, Intelligent and Excellent, the honored Rabbi², Niss[im?]. After
² the many greetings³: I have come with these lines⁴ to inform [you] that today
³ in the morning I have written at length. And now as to⁵ the sugar: I have not found
⁴ any arrangement [possible]; because what the gentleman⁶ wrote—that I had been offered⁷ ten
⁵ less a quarter and did not sell—[is untrue]. Be it known⁸ to you that in fact if
⁶ they had offered me [even] nine and a half I should have⁹ sold and not have⁹ held back.
⁷ But be it known⁸ to you that the sugar arrived here on Friday at
⁸ evening. And I spoke with the honored Rabbi² Isaac Māyō¹⁰, that he should speak with
⁹ the uncircumcised [Christian]—May his name and memory be blotted out¹¹!—and he said that I should leave it in the office till Sunday.
¹⁰ So I went along with him on Sunday; and he went in[to the office] and opened the sugar; but it was not
¹¹ [to be] considered fit for use, in his opinion. And the honored Rabbi² Isaac asked me to wait two
¹² days, till he should see [whether] perhaps he might have some money;
¹³ for [at the moment] he had no money, and therefore we could not reach any agreement. Now really
¹⁴ you did not act wisely; for you trusted to his word, and did not
¹⁵ take from him any money [as guarantee], and did not make with him any
¹⁶ binding agreement; so, when it came, he made fools of us, and so it was¹².
 For the gentleman⁶ said to me
¹⁷ that he⁶ would not send him any sugar. And [as to] the casks(?)¹³: the captain(?)

¹¹ שְׁמוֹ וְזָכְרוֹ.

¹² וּבִשְׁמוֹ כֵּן הוּא?

¹³ דִּינִיּוֹת = Fässer mit getrockneten Feigen," Jacob Levy, *Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1924, *sub voce*; "Tiegel," Dallmann, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*, Frankfurt, 1922, *sub voce*.

- 18 הקפיתן ט' ועשרה מידי לקחת ממנו ה'
 19 קפין ולכי לא עשיתי שום דבר והנה כר' אברה'
 20 גרבתי יצ' הלך למצרים תעשה עמו כאשר"
 21 תוכל כי פה אין שום ערך כי לא הנחני שום
 22 סריסור שלא דברתי עמו והגביר יודיע אור"
 23 הארץ בענין הסוכר ודי למבין ואל יבטח הגביר
 24 עלי כי מה ביר לעשות בסחורה עוצל וערך
 25 גדול ככה והנה אני תורתי אומנתי ואם היתי"
 26 חפין ללכת כל היום בסחורות לא היתי נותן מעות
 27 לשום אדם ונראה שמזל גורם כי כר' רחמים במעט
 28 מעות הרויח כאשר כתבת לו ואפי' שאין לך כל
 29 כך תועלת וינראה שאין לו שום חלק בסוכר
 30 ואני הכל עלי לכן אדוני אל תאשימני כי כה" הוא

Upon the margin:

להוט ורוצה שותפים הרבה ורוצה לקבץ כל העולם כי איך בטחת לך על
 תוהו לקנות סוכר מב" ככרים בלתי שום | עקד כלל ובדבר שאמר לי הגביר
 בשעת נסיעתו שאין כונתך לשלוח סוכר כלל לכן ועשיתה בחכמתך כי
 אני | כעת אין לי מה להפסיד ובאמת אלו שלח הגביר מעות הינו מורצים
 והנה הראיתיו היום לתגר תוגר | שיש לו מורכסוך ונתן בו ערך יו" והמרכסוך
 ערך ד' וכסיתי אותו ויש גוי א' שיש לו קרוב לאלף | חרבות מונציה ועשה
 עמו יצחק מחלני קפין א' כל הרב לערך כו מידי והסוכר ערך ט' ואני לא |

¹⁴ For *mu'aiyadī*, the half-dirham coined in the reign of the sultan Mu'aiyad, see Lane, *The Modern Egyptians*, App. B, and No. XXX. Mu'aiyad reigned from A.D. 1412 to 1421.

¹⁵ A measure of capacity for drugs and perfumes. See Dozy, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 383.

¹⁶ See al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁷ ישמרהו צורו

¹⁸ Perhaps *سرسور*. See Wahrmund, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*.

¹⁹ יודיע. ²⁰ ודי למבין.

²¹ I.e. "What qualifications have I?"

²² It looks like *עצל*. Is it *עצל*?

18 offered nine [ashrafis¹⁴] and ten maiyadis¹⁴ to take from him five
 19 kafaš¹⁵; and so I did not do any [business]. And Rabbi² Abraham
 20 Jabarti¹⁶,—May [God,] his Rock, preserve him¹⁷!—has gone to Egypt.
 [I hope] you will do [business] with him as much as
 21 you can. Here there is no arrangement at all; for he has not appointed
 me in any sense
 22 manager¹⁸, since I have not talked with him. The gentleman⁶ knows¹⁹
 the enlightenment (?)
 23 of the country as to sugar; and [a word] to the wise is sufficient²⁰! Let
 the gentleman⁶ not depend
 24 upon me; for what [have I] in hand [with which] to operate in business²¹,
 negligent²² [as I am], and [trying to] negotiate
 25 some important [transaction]? Thus it is. And as for me, my Tōrah is
 my trade²³. And [even] if I did⁹
 26 wish to take up all the day with business matters, I should not⁵ give
 money
 27 to any man [for investment]. And it seems that fate determines; for
 Rabbi² Reḥāmīm with [only] a little
 28 money has made a profit, as you wrote to him [that he would], even
 though²⁴ you do not have so very
 29 much advantage [from his transaction yourself]. But it appears²⁵ that
 he takes no part at all in sugar [dealings],
 30 and the whole thing falls on me. Therefore, my Lord, do not blame me;
 for he is so

Upon the margin:

greedy and desirous. He takes on more and more associates, and he would
 like to gather in the whole world. How could you rely upon emptiness—
 to buy sugar [for] 42 talents²⁶, without any security whatsoever! And as to
 what the gentleman said to me at the time of his departure, that it was not
 your intention to send sugar at all for that reason: you have acted wisely.
 I now have nothing to lose. Now really, if the gentleman had sent money
 we should have been satisfied²⁷! I have shown him today how to do busi-
 ness²⁸! He has, namely,.....and he gave for it about 16, and the.....[is
 worth] about 4; and I kept the [matter] secret. There is a gentile [here]
 who has about a thousand swords of Mōnziāh²⁹; and Isaac Mḥlnī made a
 [bargain] with him [for] one kafaš¹⁵, each sword for about 26 maiyadis¹⁴,
 and the sugar [sells for] about 9. And I do not

²³ אֶמְנוּתִי.

²⁴ אֶפִּילִי.

²⁵ Confusion of יִרְאַה with נִרְאַה.

²⁶ כֶּפֶרִים probably for dīnārs.

²⁷ מְרָצִים.

²⁸ Perhaps לְתִגֵּר הִגֵּר, "to bargain and be bargained"?

²⁹ Monza, locally *Monscia*, a city in Lombardy.

Upon the upper part: (a)

ידעתי מה לעשות כי לא | נסתי בשום מקמָה ואני | מתירה לעשות שום
דבר | בערך גדול ודבר שאנו | עלי כי צריך עיון מרגל

(b)

וחן חן לאדון על רוב השתדלותו | מענין קנית הזרב ומענין היצמל | אל
יקח לי לא מבהר | שלמה ולא מעלתי כי פה הב | לתת לי
ומענין הבית יעשה עמו | הגביר כאשר אפשר ושלום

(c)

הצעיר שלמה | יום ב' ו' לי[רח ני]סן

Verso:

לנבון ומעולה כר' יוסף חלופי נס' והלבי' ופגין'

ק מתירו 30

ק שאינו עליו 31

XLII. LITURGICAL MEMORANDA

Paper $11\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ inches: too long to have been a leaf from a book, and hence probably a memorandum of some sort. Number of lines: 53–62.

The language is Hebrew, with connective and directive words in Arabic, such as *بَعْدَهُ* or *بَعْد* in *recto*, line 2, *verso*, lines 39 and 46; *لَحْن* and *أَيْضاً* *verso*, line 45; *قَوْل* *verso*, line 58; the Arabic article in *verso*, line 38.

The writing is semi-cursive Hebrew of two varieties: the first covering *recto* and the first five lines of *verso*. Both are difficult to read as the paper is worn and the ink pale. Abbreviations are so extensively used that many passages are unintelligible.

Of Biblical passages one recognises: Psalm lv, 9 in *recto*, line 7; followed by Psalm cii, 1; xxv, 16; lxxxvi, 16; lxix, 14; lxxiii, 22; li, 17; Proverbs xvi, 1; Psalm xix, 15; Psalm xcvi, 1 in *verso*, line 10; Psalm lxxviii, 5 in line 21; Psalm xxix, 9 in line 26; xciii, 1 in line 29.

Rimes are discoverable in three places: ער in *recto* up to line 7; various rimes in *verso*, lines 16–32; ה, toward the end of *verso*.

[illegible]

This image shows a page from an ancient Hebrew manuscript, likely a Torah scroll. The text is written in a cursive script, characteristic of the Ashkenazi or Sephardi traditions. The parchment is aged and discolored, with visible wear and tear. The text is arranged in a single column, with some lines showing signs of fading or damage. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but clearly antique document.

Upon the upper part: (a)

know what to do, I have not run away anywhere (?), but I [stay here and] prevent him³⁰ from doing anything on a large scale, or anything which he does not need to do³¹, for inquiring thought is necessary.

(b)

And many thanks to (my) Lord for his many efforts concerning the purchase of the gold and concerning the.....Let him not take for menot from Rabbi² Solomon and not on account of me (?). For here the.....to give me. And as to the house: Let the gentleman⁶ do with it whatever is possible. Farewell!

(c)

[From] the humble Solomon.....

Monday, the sixth of the month of Nisān.

Verso:

To the Intelligent and Excellent Rabbi² Joseph Ḥallūfī (?)³².

³² The last three words are apparently abbreviations.

XLII. LITURGICAL MEMORANDA

Most of the *recto* relates to the Mūsāph prayers of the New Year's Day service; but line 49 goes over into something else. There seems to be no particular reason for making such a selection of prayers and passages, or for arranging them in this order. Perhaps they are the notes of some pupil. Nor do the contents of this fragment appear, from any point of view, to justify transcription, translation and notes. Plates XLIII and XLIV will, however, enable the student to form his own opinion.

Professor Israel Davidson has gone over the text and has made some very valuable suggestions for which the editors wish to thank him. Bibliography: Zunz, *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin, 1859; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 107-8; *Siddur Rābh 'Amram Gā'ōn*, Warsaw, 1865; *Siddur Troyes*, Budapest, 1905; *Maḥzōr Vitrī*, Berlin, 1889-93; and *Sēfer Abū-dirham*, Prague, 1784.

XLIII

AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE COURT IN
JERUSALEM IN REGARD TO PRECEDENCE
IN THE ACADEMY AT AL-RAMLAH

Paper $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Arabic and Hebrew, in half-square Hebrew characters.

Both the Arabic and Hebrew are fairly good; but the way in which the document passes from one language to the other, and back again, gives the impression of an imperfect command of them both, and robs the document of the dignity which it otherwise might have. The unavoidable use of Hebrew legal expressions leads the writers off into Hebrew completely for a time; and yet Hebrew cannot be sustained to the end.

The document belongs to the period of the Palestinian gaonate about which the Genizah has taught us so much, and deals with the familiar topic of discord in the Academy at al-Ramlah, evident from letters of Solomon Ben Judah, the central figure of the period, and his contemporaries, as published by Mann, *op. cit.* It appears to be a record of the settlement of this long controversy, alluded to by Nathan, writing in A.D. 1042 to Fustāt (Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 151): "You have received already [the account] of how the peace came about and what we did for the sake of peace in Israel."

The date is Tishrī the 21st, A.M. 4803, equivalent to October 8th, A.D. 1043.

Recto:

נוסכה אלמואקה אשמעו מה ידבר האל וג' 1
 דבר מא תקרר בין אלמתיבה ובין מ' וז' נתן אב בן אברהם נג' פי מא ראתוה 2
 אלמתיבה ושיוך
 אלאומה ונשיאינו מן אלתקדם פי רתבה אב בית דין אלתי יסתחקקא 3
 רבינו טוביה השלישי בחבורה
 חסב סונה ישראל מן דלך אנה ירגע ען גמיע מא כאן תערין לה מן אל תסמי 4
 במא כאן תסמא בה
 ומא אסמא בה סואה ואנה לא ינפרד בתקריר אמר מן אל אמור ולא 5
 באלצלאה עלי אחר
 מן אלנאס פי מרתבה מן מראתב ישראל אלא מא אגתמע עליה ראי 6
 אדונינו שלמה גאון

¹ Mistake for מואפקה.

² Psalm lxxxv, 9.

³ I.e. "school of Talmudic law."

⁴ See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 151, 193-4; vol. ii, 230-1.

⁵ אב בית דין. See Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-6, 272.

וזכרה פי לנפח בלמלה פוח על ומה תקדש בה אשר לשמך מנחה וקדש
 לאו החמישי בחבורה בן שלמה אצ שובח השלישי בחבורה ג' ב' וזכר אצל
 נתן אב בית דין של כל ישראל ב' שלמה ד' ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב ברבי
 יחזקיה הנשיא בן שלמה הנשיא ב' מייחזקיה ב' יוסף חפז השופט והראשון
 מבורך בן עלון ב' משה בן קובל על שם יחזקיה יהיה על דמיון

XLIII

AN AGREEMENT BEFORE THE COURT IN
JERUSALEM IN REGARD TO PRECEDENCE
IN THE ACADEMY AT AL-RAMLAH

On the discord at al-Ramlah, see Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 141-152, and also pp. 71, 75, 115, 129, 130, 193, 273.

A member of the Palestinian Academy, Nathan Ben Abraham, settled in Egypt. When his uncle, the "Father of the Law Court," died, he was made "Father" by his influential Egyptian following; and the regular candidate for this office, Tobiah Ben Daniel, the "Third in the group," was pushed aside. Nathan then proceeded to undermine the authority of the Gā'ōn, Solomon Ben Judah, and at last to declare himself "Head of the Academy," the title borne by the Gā'ōn. Then began a contest between the parties behind the two rival Ge'ōnīm.

Our document records the terms of the reconciliation. Nathan must renounce all assumed titles. Nathan must not decide matters of business, nor pray for anyone without the concurrence of the other four in the group. Joseph shall be judge in al-Ramlah "in imprisoning an.....and [in determining what is] permitted and forbidden." When Solomon dies and Nathan becomes Gā'ōn, the others shall be promoted accordingly, and then observe the restrictions of the offices which they shall assume. Should anyone irregularly assume a title, Nathan (*sic*!) shall restrain and expel him. This agreement was ratified with mighty oaths by all of the group. Thus was Nathan shorn of all power except to punish in future such as should sin as he had done.

Recto :

- 1 Copy of the agreement¹. I will hear what God will speak etc.²
- 2 Record of what was established between the Academy³ and our Master and Rabbi, Nathan⁴, [Father of the Law Court]⁵, son of Abraham, deceased⁶, in regard to what was undertaken⁷ by the Academy³ and the Elders of
- 3 the Nation and our Princes concerning the advancement into the rank of Father of the Law Court⁵, which is [rightly] claimed by our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third in the group,
- 4 according to the custom⁸ of Israel in that [matter, to wit:] That he shall renounce all that he has come to possess in the way of title, in so far as he gave himself a title,
- 5 or was given a title⁹ by others, And that he shall not act as an individual in determining any matter, nor in praying¹⁰ for any
- 6 man in any of the classes of Israel, except [when he does] that in which the opinion of our Lord Solomon Gā'ōn concurs

⁶ נח נפשיה is נח.

⁷ Copyist's mistake for יאתווה.

⁸ שעה.

⁹ For אסמאה.

¹⁰ See Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 142.

- 7 מעה ומע רבינו טוביה השלישי בחבורה ומע רבינו יוסף הרביעי בח' ומע רבינו אליהו החמי'
- 8 בח' והדא אלתני תנאי כפול קבלה עלי נפסוה בהין קודם לליו ותניי קודם למעשה ומן דלך
- 9 אן יכון אלמתולי ללנטר באלרמלה פי אלחבם ואל[. . .] ק וחלאל וחראם רבינו יוסף הכהן הרביעי
- 10 בחבורה ען אמר ראש ישיבה למא עלם מן חוסן סיאסתה ודיאנתוה ואי כצמין חצרו בין]
- 11 ידיה וחכם ביניהם מא למן יחצר באלרמלה מעה ממן תקדם דכרה אן ינקול אלחכם אליה
- 12 סוא אלריים ראש ישיבה ואן רבינו נתן אב בית דין מתי אנתקל אלי רתבה סואהא כאן כל
- 13 ואחד מן בני הישיבה גאריין עלי אלרסם אלמוסתקר להם פי מנאולהם בחית ינתקל כל
- 14 ואחד מנהם אלי אלתתבה אלת יסתחקהא והם אל מסמאין לא גיר ואן אצחאב אדונינו שלמה גאון
- 15 פי גמיע אלמואצע ואלבלאד יגרו עלי רסומהם פי כדמהם ותקדמהם ומתי תעדי מתעדי ותסמא במא לא
- 16 תסמיה בה אלישיבה והם אדונינו שלמה גאון ורבינו נתן אב בית דין ורבינו טוביה השלישי ורבינו
- 17 יוסף הכהן הרביעי ורבינו אליהו הכהן החמישי כאן עלי רבינו נתן אב בית דין מואפקה אלמדכורין והם

¹¹ I.e. Nathan.

¹² חמישי.

¹³ בהן קודם ללאו ותני קודם למעשה. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, 1924, vol. iv, p. 654, quoting the Babylonian Talmud, *Kiddūshin* 3, 4 (61a): Every conditional agreement must be twice pronounced, and must precede the transaction; and the assent must be pronounced before the dissent. This means apparently that one must first state what one will do if the condition is fulfilled, then what one will do if it is not fulfilled; and then one may act.

¹⁴ Near Ludd, between Jerusalem and Jaffa.

¹⁵ One expects here "releasing." The visible remains seem to indicate רזק "sustenance," or דוק "insanity."

¹⁶ מתיבה the same as ישיבה?

¹⁷ -ō for -*ihī* as in modern familiar style.

7 with him¹¹, and with our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third in the group, and
 with our Rabbi Joseph, the Fourth in the group, and with our Rabbi
 Elijah, the Fifth¹²
 8 in the group. And this agreement is a double agreement which he has
 accepted for his own person, with *yes* before *no* and agreement before
 execution¹³. And similarly,
 9 that the one appointed for the administration in al-Ramlah¹⁴, in im-
 prisoning and.....¹⁵ and [in determining what is] permitted and for-
 bidden, [be] our Rabbi Joseph ha-Kōhēn, the Fourth in
 10 the group, by command of the Head of the Academy¹⁶, by virtue of
 what [the Head of the Academy] knows of the beauty of his adminis-
 tration¹⁷, and his conscientiousness¹⁷. And when litigants appear be-
 11 fore, and judgment between them is given¹⁸ by¹⁹, some one of those
 previously mentioned, who is in al-Ramlah with him, the judgment
 shall be referred to him,
 12 together with the ra'is, the Head of the Academy¹⁶. And when our
 Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law Court, is transferred to equal rank²⁰,
 all
 13 of the 'sons of the Academy¹⁶ shall follow the ordinance laid down²¹ for
 them in their [several] stations—since each one of them
 14 is transferred to the rank to which he is entitled; and they are the ones
 named²², and not otherwise. And the associates of our Lord Solomon
 Gā'ōn
 15 in all the places²³ and towns shall follow their ordinances, in their ser-
 vice and their advancement²⁴. And when anyone shall transgress and
 call himself by that
 16 by which the Academy¹⁶ does not call him²⁵,—and [these titles are:] our
 Lord Solomon, Gā'ōn; and our Rabbi Nathan, Father of the Law
 Court; and our Rabbi Tobiah, the Third; and our Rabbi
 17 Joseph, ha-Kōhēn, the Fourth²⁶; and our Rabbi Elijah, ha-Kōhēn, the
 Fifth—there shall be²⁷, with respect to our Rabbi Nathan, Father of
 the Law Court, an agreement of the [persons] mentioned; and they
 [are]²⁸

¹⁸ **وَحَكَمَ مَا**. The **ما** is here either an adverb (German *etwa*) or a noun ("some-thing").

¹⁹ Passive verb with logical subject introduced by **ל** as in Jewish Aramaic. See Margolis, *Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, Munich, 1910, pp. 75, 82.

²⁰ I.e. Gā'ōn, successor of Solomon.

²¹ **מִסְתַּקֵּר**.

²² Vernacular (?) *musamma'in* for classical **מִסְמוֹן**.

²³ **מִוָּאֲצֵעַ**.

²⁴ In the margin, with a sign in the text.

²⁵ **תְּסִמֶּיֶה**.

²⁶ **הַרְבִּיעִי**.

²⁷ Perfect of verbs, because all are the apodoses of the condition in line 15.

²⁸ In the margin, with a connecting line.

- 18 אדונינו שלמה גאון ורבינו טוביה הג' ורבינו יוסף הד' ורבינו אליהו הה'
מנעה ודפעה עלמא
- 19 תערין לה בלא לב ולב וקיבלו עליהם כל הכתוב כל אחד ואחד מהם
בשמו בשבועות חמורות
- 20 בהזכרת השם הנכבד י" צבאות שמו ואמרי סיני וחוקי חורב בקינין גמור
בכלי הכשר
- 21 כהלכה בבטול כל מודעין ותנאין בכל לשון שבטלין בהם כתיקון חכמים
ונכתב ביום הושענה
- 22 של שנה זו שהיא שנת ד'תתנ' ליצירה בירושלים תבנה והיכל חסד והתנו
עוד אן מן חצר מן
- 23 אלכצום במדינת אלרמלה אלי רבינו נתן אב כאן לה אן ינטר בינהם
מא לם יכן חר תקדם לה
- 24 חכם ענד אלרביעי' ואן אלשרט פי אשתראך אלראי פי אלמתקדמאת
ואלרתב אנמא הו מקצור
- 25 עלי מן יכתב כמה פי הדא אלכתאב מן בני אלישיבה אלמסמאין פיה
ומן לא יכתב כמה מנהם
- 26 פיה פלא ישאור פימא יסתאנף מן עסאה אן יקדם ואלשרט אלמתקדם

Verso :

- 1 דכרה פי אלנטר באלרמלה פהו עלי מא תקדם בה אלשרח ללשכין
בעינה: תקוים:
- 2 אליהו החמישי בחבורה בן שלמה גא': [ו]טוביה השלישי בחבורה ברבי
דניאל גסבר נע'
- 3 נתן אב בית דין של כל ישראל ב' שלמה ה... ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב ברבי
4 יחזמיה הנשיא בן שלמה הנשיא בן דוד הנשיא נז' יוסף הכהן השופט
והדאין בר שלם
- 5 מבורך בן עלון בן משה נז' וקיבל עליו שאם יחזור יהיה על הדין

29 בלא לב ולב.

30 עלי מא.

31 וקבלו?

32 תהוין for תיקון. See Levy, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 664; and No. I, *recto*, line 21.

33 The 21st of Tishri seventh and last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, 4803 Era of the Creation, equals eighth of October, A.D. 1043.

34 Rest of line scratched out.

35 See line 23.

36 See lines 24-26.

37 Or "rectification" or "adjustment."

- 18 our Lord Solomon, Gā'ōn; and our Master Tobiah, the Third; and our Master Joseph, the Fourth; and our Master Elijah, the Fifth—[Nathan] shall restrain²⁷ [the transgressor] and expel²⁸ him without sentimentality²⁹, since³⁰
- 19 he has opposed [them]. And all [that is] written [above] they took³¹ upon themselves, each one of them separately, in his own name, with mighty oaths,
- 20 —mentioning the “Honored Name,” “Jehovah of Hosts is His Name,” and “the Words of Sinai,” and “the Laws of Horeb,”—by complete acquisition through a valid instrument,
- 21 according to custom, making impossible all protests and conditions, by all the language by which men make [evasions] impossible, according to the institution³² of wise men. And we write [this document] on the Day of Hoshanah [Rabbah]
- 22 of this year, which is the year 4803 of the Creation³³, in Jerusalem—may it be built up, and [the] Temple of Mercy! And they agreed further that when any litigants
- 23 appear in the city of al-Ramlah, before our Master Nathan, Father [of the Law Court], it shall be his duty to examine them as to whether some one of them have not [asked]
- 24 judgment of the “Fourth” before [asking judgment of] him. And the condition of association in opinion [as set forth] in the foregoing [statements], and in rank applies only
- 25 to those Sons of the Academy³⁴, named³⁵ therein, who affix their signatures to this document. And if any one of them shall not affix his signature
- 26 to it, he shall not be consulted in any [matter] which any [man] may initiate who may present [a proposal]. And the condition afore-

Verso :

- 1 mentioned³⁴, as to the examination³⁵ in al-Ramlah, applies, according to the preceding comment³⁶, to each individual in person. Summary³⁷:
- 2 Elijah, the Fifth in the group, son of Solomon, Gā'ōn³⁸, and Tobiah, the Third in the group, son of Rabbi Daniel Gsbr³⁹.
- 3 Nathan, Father of the Law Court of All Israel, son of Rabbi Solomon... ..⁴⁰, Head of the Academy³⁶, [and known as] Gā'ōn of Jacob, son of Rabbi
- 4 Hezekiah ha-Nasi'. Joseph ha-Kōhēn ha-Shōfēt, the dayyān⁴¹, son of Solomon
- 5 Mebōrākh, son of 'Lwn, son of Moses. And [Nathan] took³¹ upon himself [the condition] that, if he should repent [of the agreement], he should be subject to judgment.

³⁸ Solomon ha-Kōhēn was Gā'ōn immediately preceding Solomon Ben Judah.

³⁹ For נִזְכָּר “treasurer”?

⁴⁰ According to Mann, *op. cit.*, chap. iii, Nathan's father was named Abraham.

⁴¹ For הַרִיטָן?

XLIV. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Recto:

1 הילכות¹ אזהרות² תענית יום הכפורים
 2 פים³ וברחיצה⁴ תנו⁴ רבנן אסור לרחוץ מקצת גופו ככל גופו ואם היה
 מלובלך בטיט
 3 ובצואה רוחץ כדרכו ואינו חושש: תאנא⁵ רבי מנשה רבן שמעון בן
 גמליאל אומ⁶ מדיחה אשה
 4 [י]דה⁷ במים ונותנת פת לתינוק⁸: אמרו⁹ על שמאי הזקן שלא רצה
 להאכיל בידו אחת וגזרו עליו
 5 [להא]כיל¹⁰ בשתי ידיו¹¹ מאי טעמ¹² אמ⁶ אביי משום שבתא¹³:
 6 כל¹⁴ חייבי טבילות טובלין כדרכן בין¹⁵ בתשעה באב בין ביום הכפורים
 7 תנו רבנן [הרוא]ה קרי ביום הכפורים יורד וטובל ולערב ישפשף¹⁶ לערב¹⁶
 סלקא דעתא¹⁷ אלא אימא ואם¹⁸
 8 מבערב ישפשף¹⁹

(Original text erased)

9-15

16 תאני^{20,6} יהודה גרונרות²¹ אסור לישב [ע]ל²² טיט²³ ביום הכפורים אמ⁶
 ר יהושע בן לוי בטיט²³
 17 הטופח²⁴ אביי²⁵ אמ⁶ ובטופח על מנת להטפוח: אמ⁶ רב יהודה מותר
 להצטנן בפירות
 18 רב יהודה מצטנן בקרא²⁶ אביי²⁶ מצטנן בינוקא²⁶ רבא מצטנן בכסא דכספא
 19 אמ⁶ רבא²⁷ כסא דכספא מלא²⁸ אסיר²⁸ חסיר²⁹ שרי³⁰ דפחרא בין³⁰ מלי³¹
 בין חסיר²⁹ אסיר²⁸

¹ This line is the heading to the entire subject as originally written on the fragment.

² The word can also be in the singular. The last letters are not well preserved. The meaning here is "prohibitions."

³ The word פים, for פיסקא, is used in this fragment to designate that the following word or words are from the Mishnah. It is not usual in Talmud Babli and Pösekim. The Mishnah treated in this passage is found in Yōmā viii, 1.

⁴ The passage is in B. Yōmā 77 b. Compare Tōsephtā iv, 2-6.

⁵ Participles as תאנא, תאני, שאחל, באעי, חאזי, are written with א. This may be due to Arabic influence.

⁶ Note the writing of אומ instead of אומר, אמ instead of אמר. This verb has, in the imperfect and imperative, an א instead of the ר, which was lost in pronunciation. The ר was then apparently lost in the pronunciation of the perfect and participle. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297, note 1, quotation.

XLIV. HALACHIC FRAGMENT

Paper $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ inches.

Hebrew and Arabic, in semi-cursive Hebrew characters, not all by the same hand, written in different directions, interlined, erased, smudged and otherwise defaced.

⁷ Talmud adds **אחת**. But Rabbi Ḥananēl, Rashī and העיטור (2nd part 44c) omit **אחת**.

⁸ Talmud adds **ואינה חוששת** under the influence of the preceding **ואינו חושש**. The words are, however, omitted in MSS^{2,0} and Hullin 107b. See דקדוקי סופרים to Yōmā, p. 244, note ש.

⁹ עלי is omitted through a scribal error.

¹⁰ So Talmud, but שיאכיל is also possible. For this text see MSS^{2,0} (Bibliography, p. 217).

¹¹ Talmud **ירדים**, but the ך is due to the influence of the next word. For this text see MSS.

¹² The ך in טעמא is omitted in this fragment, and a dot is placed upon the preceding letter.

¹³ This word is written everywhere also with י, שיבתא. The omission of the י after the ש is due apparently to a scribal error.

¹⁴ The passage is found in B. Yōmā 88a.

¹⁵ Talmud Yōmā omits the phrase בין בתשעה באב בין, but it is preserved in Shabbāth 111a, Ta'anith 13a, Bēṣā 18b. See also הלכות גדולות p. 61a, מאה שערים p. 52, העיטור p. 44d.

¹⁶ Talmud דהוה הוה. מאי דהוה הוה. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{2,0}. Cf. Rashī. See דקדוקי סופרים p. 313, note ג.

¹⁷ Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have דעתך.

¹⁸ Talmud omits ואם. The present text misled Rashī. For the correct text of the fragment see MS². Cf. דקדוקי סופרים, note ד.

¹⁹ Talmud adds סבר מצוה לשפשה. But the phrase is correctly omitted in MS². See ד.ר. *ibid*.

It seems that the passage of ההולך להקביל (B. Yōmā 77b, in an abridged form) followed the preceding passages, but it was wiped away and replaced by an insertion. Later an addition to the preceding passage was inserted.

²⁰ Passage in B. Yōmā 78a.

²¹ Talmud adds בר. For the omission see MSS^{0,1}. Cf. ד.ר.ס., p. 249, note ל.

²² Talmud adds נבי. Alfāsī omits it.

²³ Talmud has מינא, for מיט see MSS^{0,1}. Cf. ד.ר.ס., *ibid*.

²⁴ Talmud and Pōseḳīm have here מטפחת; מאה שערים, p. 53 has מטפח. But the text of the fragment is preferable, otherwise there is no difference in opinion between מטפחת and טופח עמ' להטפח.

²⁵ In Talmud אמר אביי, as if he explains the preceding מטפחת. The MS² has the same text as the fragment. The text is not a scribal error (see ד.ר.ס., *ibid*., note מ). Abāye is really opposing Rabbi Yehōshua B. Lēvī, and not explaining his words.

²⁶ Talmud has רבה. For אביי see MS⁰.

²⁷ Talmud has רב פפא. For רבא see MSS^{0,1,2}. Cf. ד.ר.ס., note ד.

²⁸ Talmud has Hebrew אסור. But הלכות גדולות p. 62b and Alfāsī have the Aramaic אסיר.

²⁹ Talmud writes חסר without the י, but Rabbi Ḥananēl, Alfāsī and העיטור have the י.

³⁰ Talmud has instead אידי ואידי. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{0,1}. Cf. ד.ר.ס., *ibid*.

³¹ We expect מלא, but see MS². Compare also Alfāsī מליא.

20 מאי טעמ¹² משחל שאחיל⁵ רב אשי³² אמ⁶ אף כסא³³ דכספא חסיר²⁹
 אסיר²⁸ מאי³⁴ טעמ¹²
 21 דאתי³⁵ לאיזדרבווי: ועירי³⁶ בר חמא אושפיוכניה³⁷ ד³⁸ יהושע בן לוי
 ורבמי ורבס[י] וכולהו]
 22 רבנן בקיסרי אמרו ליה ליוסף³⁹ בר יהושע בן לוי בר אריא תא אימא⁴⁰
 לך מילתא מעליתא דהוה ע[ביד]
 23 אבוך⁴¹ בערב יום הכפורים מביאין לו מטפחת ושורה במים⁴² למחר
 מעביר[ה על] גב[י] עיניו [ואינו]
 24 חושיש⁴³ כ[י] אתא רבה בר מארי⁴⁵ אמ⁶ מטפחת⁴⁶ היתה לו [ל⁴⁷
 יהושע] בן לוי ערב יום הכ[פ]ורים שורה
 25 במים ועושה כמין כלים נגובין למחר מעבי[רה] על גבי עיניו ואינו חושיש⁴³:
 26 פים ובסיכה⁴⁷ תנו רבנן אסור לסוך [מ]קצת גופו ככל גופו ואם היה חולה
 או שהיו לו [חט]טין]
 חס⁴⁸
 27 [בראשו] סך כדרכו ואינו חושש:

Right margin:

חס⁴⁹ בין⁵⁰ סיכה⁵¹ של תענוג בין סיכה שאינה של תענוג אסור: פים
 ובנעילת⁵²
 27 פים ובנעילת הסנדל⁵³ איבעיא⁵⁴ להו מהו לצאת בס[נדל]
 28 של שעם ביום הכפורים עמד ר' יצחק בר נחמני על רגליו ואמר אני
 ראיתי את[ר] יהושע⁵⁵ . . .
 29 שיצא בסנדל של שעם ביום הכפורים⁵⁶ כן⁵⁷ ר' אליעזר⁵⁸ דמן נוי⁵⁹ התיר
 רבה בר בר חנא נפיק ב . . . ובסנדל
 30 של שעם ביום הכפורים בעא מיניה אמ⁶ ליה מותר רב יהודה נפק⁶⁰
 (Remainder missing)

³² Talmud רב פפא. For רב אשי see MSS.

³³ Talmud has כסא דכספא נמי. Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have אפי.

³⁴ Talmud ד משום. For מאי טעמא see MSS.

³⁵ Talmud has here the participle דמזריב. For the infinitive see MSS¹. Cf. ד.ס., note ע.

³⁶ Talmud ועירא. For the writing with the י see MSS^{2,1}.

³⁷ Talmud אושפוכנין. For the text of the fragment see MSS^{m,2,1}.

³⁸ The text in the Talmud is רבי יהושע בן לוי וכולהו רבנן דקיסרי. The text is surely corrupt. Rabbi Yehōshua, being of an older generation, should be mentioned first. It is not likely that Zeīra was a hotel-keeper who accommodated all the scholars of Caesarea. This statement is not important. The text of the fragment is excellent. See for its support MS^m, which has בקיסרין and omits הוה.

Professor Gottheil made a preliminary examination of this fragment; but it remained for Dr Samuel Feigin to subject it to a thorough study. The rest of this article therefore is entirely his. The editors feel that,

Compare also Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher and MSS^{1,2} which mention Rabbi Yehōshua first. Cf. .ד.ס., note ב. For the writing רבמי רבסי cf. Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי, p. 86.

³⁹ Talmud adds רב. For its omission see MSS^{1,2}.

⁴⁰ אִימא is written as usual in Talmud. The writer, however, intended to omit the final א and put a dot over the מ. Cf. note 125.

⁴¹ Here the text is very confused in the Talmud and Pōsekim. The fragment omits entirely about the Ninth of Ab. For the same omission see MS^m. The text of the fragment is in essential accordance with Alfāsī. See .ד.ס., p. 250, notes א, ש, ר.

⁴² ועושה כמין כלים נגובים and Alfāsī add here הלכות גדולות.

⁴³ Note the writing חוישיש with a י.

⁴⁴ Talmud has וכן.

⁴⁵ Talmud writes without א.

⁴⁶ The text of the fragment is exactly as that of Alfāsī.

⁴⁷ The passage is found in B. Yōmā 77b and is connected with the statement about רחיצה. The author of the fragment set them apart. Compare הלכות גדולות p. 61, העיטור, p. 44cd, and אור זרוע second part, p. 127.

⁴⁸ The word is apparently חס, namely, חסר "missing," and refers to the right margin.

⁴⁹ We expect here ירוש. The last letter is rather ס and the word must be חס.

⁵⁰ The text is from Jer. Yōmā 44d.

⁵¹ Jer. adds שהיא, but it is omitted in Rabbi Ḥananēl.

⁵² The words show where the margin shall be inserted.

⁵³ The text is found in B. Yōmā 78b.

⁵⁴ Talmud has the participle מיבעיא, but Alfāsī and Rabbi Asher have the perfect, as the fragment.

⁵⁵ There is space for two more letters and we expect two more words בן לוי.

⁵⁶ The question about a public fast-day is omitted here.

⁵⁷ The text of the fragment seems to have been mutilated in order to make it accord with the present text of the Talmud, but without success. The original text of the fragment was apparently as follows:

וכן ר' אליעזר דמן נוי התי' רבה בר בר חנא נפיק ב... ובסנדל של שעם ביום הכפורים רב יהודה נפיק...

But this text disagrees with the text of the Talmud, according to which Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā relates the actions of Rabbi Eleazar on a public fast-day. On this occasion he asked him about the Day of Atonement, and was answered that it makes no difference. To bring the text of the original fragment in accordance with the text of the Talmud, the editor encircled the statement of Rabbi Eleazar, put small circles around the words "Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā went out" to indicate apparently that these words precede the others, and added בעא מיניה אם ליה מותר. However, there was no need to ask since only יום הכפורים was mentioned and the words בעא מיניה were, therefore, scratched out, and added, however, on the margin. The following passage רב יהודה נפיק... was moved further away.

⁵⁸ Talmud אלעזר, but compare MS^m for the first statement of Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā, where it has אליעזר. These two names may be identified. See .ד.ס., p. 251, note ח.

⁵⁹ Talmud has here the more familiar ננוה, for נוי. See MS². Cf. S. Klein, ארץ ישראל, note to section 95.

⁶⁰ The rest of the subject was wiped away. Since the verso begins with אמר שמואל we may think that a part of the passage of the Talmud, dealing with נעילת הסנדל, was originally written in the space, which is now wiped away, and thus made place for the insertion.

Left margin :

- 1 והלכתא⁶¹ הקטע אסור לצאת
 2 [בקב] שלו ביום הכפורים בין ד[א]ית
 3 [ביה בי]ת קבול [כתיתין] בין דלית בי[ה]
 4 [קבול] דמנעל [ה]וא :

Verso :

- 1 אמ⁶ שמואל כל⁶² מ[ח]מת סכנת עקרב מותר[:]
 2 פיס² ובתשמיש המטה⁶³ תנן התם מקום שנהגו להדליק את הנר בלילי
 [יום ה]כפור[ים]
 3 מדליקין מקום שנהגו שלא להדליק אין מדליקין מדליקין⁶⁴ בבתי כניסיות⁶⁵
 ובבתי מ[דרשות ובמבואות]
 4 האפלים ועל גבי החולים : תאנא⁵ בין שאמרו להדליק ובין שאמרו שלא
 להדליק לא⁶⁶ אמרו [אלא]
 5 משום דבר אחר⁶⁷ : ירוש⁶⁸ תני⁶⁸ ר' שמעון בן אלעזר אומ⁶ [ו]ם הכפורים
 שחל להיות בשבת אפילו
 6 במקום שלא [נ]הגו להדליק מדליקין⁶⁹ ר' סימון בשם ר' יהושע בן לוי ר'
 [יוסי] ב[ן] ש[א]ול בשם רב⁶⁹ [ה]לכה
 7 כר' שמעון בן אלעזר : דרש ר' חייה רבה⁷⁰ לטבריה⁷¹ כהרה⁷² דר' שמעון
 בן אלעזר :

Written horizontally :

- 1 [פיס]³ האוכל ביום הכפור[ים] וכולי עד מצטרפין : גמ' ירוש⁷³ אמ⁶ ר' יוסי⁷⁴
 [זאת] אומרת שהוא צריך
 2 למעך את חללה דלכ⁷⁵ נתני⁷⁵ כמ[ו]ה ו[כ]גרעינתה⁷⁶ וכחללה⁷⁷ : תני ר'
 שמעון בן אלעזר אומר בכותבת נמרית : באע^{78,5} רב פפא כותבת⁷⁹
 הגסה שאמרו⁸⁰ י[בשה]
 דלחה היא⁸¹
 3 או לחה ואסיקנה⁸² דלחה⁸¹ אמרו ד[גס]ה תנ⁸³ כמה דגסה : אמ⁶ רחבה⁸⁴
 דלחה אמרו⁸¹
 אמ⁶ ר' יהודה כותבת הגסה שא[מרן]

⁶¹ The margin is not a copy from the Talmud, but is connected with the passage of the Talmud about קטע (B. Yōmā 78b). The reason someone wrote it on the margin must be that he intended to copy only extracts from the Talmud itself. A later addition was attached to this margin to modify its statement.

⁶² The passage is in B. Yōmā 78b. The Talmud has אם. For the text of the fragment see הלכות גדולות p. 61b, מאה שערים pp. 54-55, and Alfāsī.

⁶³ The passage is in B. Pesāḥim 53b.

although no important conclusions have been reached, and although Dr Feigin presents his transcription, notes, and general remarks, with great diffidence on this account, the fragment remains a problem which might be of importance to Genizah students, and ought therefore to be presented in this volume. Dr Feigin wishes to express grateful acknowledgment to Mr S. B. Maximon, of the Jewish Institute of Religion, and Rabbi Z. W. Leiter, of Pittsburg, for the loan of needed books.

⁶⁴ Talmud has ומדליקין.

⁶⁵ Talmud omits the י after the ג. Cf. notes 29, 43.

⁶⁶ Talmud has שניה לדבר אחר נכתונו.

⁶⁷ Jer. is erroneously written instead of אחר. It must be due to negligence on the part of the copyist.

⁶⁸ The Jerusalem Talmud, Pesāḥim 31a.

⁶⁹ Jer. has רבי. But it seems that some name is missing there. The final letter in the fragment does not seem to be a י. Perhaps the name is רבא?

⁷⁰ Jer. בר בא, namely, בר אבא. The text of the fragment רבה seems to be inferior. See Frankel, מבוא הירושלמי p. 81 ff.

⁷¹ Jer. has a י after ט.

⁷² Jer. א כהרא with א.

⁷³ This is copied from Jer. Yōmā (44 d near the end).

⁷⁴ Jer. יוסה.

⁷⁵ Jer. דל בן separately written.

⁷⁶ Jer. כנלעינתה. But compare Tōsephōth Yōmā 79a.

⁷⁷ Jer. מחללה which is surely not correct. See Tōsephōth, *ibid.*

⁷⁸ The text is an extract from B. Yōmā 79–80.

⁷⁹ Talmud ככותבת and omits הנסה.

⁸⁰ The Talmud, as well as the Pōseḥim, had a corrupted text which caused many artificial explanations. The text of the fragment has the support of MS² which has

ככותבת הנסה שאמרו בלחה או ביבשה

See. ד.ס., p. 254, note ג. According to this, the text of the Talmud should be reconstructed as follows:

בעי רב פפא כותבת הנסה שאמרו לחה או יבשה. בעי רב אישי עצם כשעורה בקליפתה או בלא קליפתה. רב אישי לא מיבעיא ליה הא דרב פפא נסה תנן כמה דנסה. רב פפא לא מיבעיא ליה הא דרב אישי בקליפתה שבלת מקרי שלא בקליפתה או שלא מיקרי.

The present text of the Talmud seems to be formed by the following circumstances: A copyist omitted the words לחה או יבשה and wrote בעי רב פפא כותבת הנסה שאמרו בעי רב פפא לחה או יבשה above the line. When he noticed his mistake, he wrote the words רבאישי... The second copyist inserted the words in the wrong place. When it was noticed that the inquiry of Rab Pāpā remained without any subject, somebody added בנרעינתה או שלא בנרעינתה although the inquiry about this is impossible. See. ד.ס., p. 254, note ג.

⁸¹ The copyist wrote רבלחה instead of רלחה and placed a circle around the word to indicate that it is wrong and wrote the correct word in smaller script at the beginning of the line above (דלחה היא) and beneath it (דלחה אמרו).

⁸² This is a usual term in Alfāsi and Rabbi Ḥananēl. The fragment omits the inquiry of Rab Ashi.

⁸³ Talmud has נסה תנן כמה, but MSS have correctly נסה איתמר כל כמה דנסה. See. ד.ס., note ה.

⁸⁴ Talmud has רבא which is impossible (Cf. I. Halevy, דורות הראשונים, vol. ii, p. 475 f.). MS^m has רבה, but MSS^{a,1,2} have correctly, as the fragment, רחבה.

- 4 יתירה מכביצה וקים להו לרבנן דבהכי מיתבא דעתא⁸⁵ ובציר⁸⁶ מהכי לא מיתבא דעתא⁸⁵ רב זב[יד]⁸⁷
- 5 אמ⁶ כותבת הגסה שאמרו חסירה⁸⁸ [מכ]ביצה רתנן⁸⁹ אך כמה מזמנן פחותה
עד כזית⁹⁰ ר יהודה אומר עד כ[ביצה]
- 6 ואמרין⁹¹ במאי קאמיפלגי ר מאיר סבר ואכלת זו אכילה ושבעת זו שתיה ואכילה בכזית ור יהודה סבר [ואכלת]
- 7 ושבעת אכילה שישבה שביעה וא[י]זו זו וזו⁹² כביצה ואי סלקא דעתא כותבת הגסה⁹³ יתירה מכביצה השתא כ[ביצה]
- 8 שבועי משבעא יתובי⁹⁴ דעתא לא[מ]יתבא אלא⁹⁵ שמע מינה כותבת הגסה שאמרו פחותה מכביצה⁹⁶ : מי...⁹⁷
- 9 כל שיעורין שבתורה⁹⁸ בכזית יום הכפורים⁹⁹ מאי טעמ¹² ככותבת מתוך ששינה הכ[תוב במשמעו לא תעונה]
- 10 ולא כתוב לא תאכל¹⁰⁰ שינו חכמים בשיעורין¹⁰¹ ככותבת¹⁰² ושיעורין¹⁰³ הלכה למשה מסיני הין : פים³ והשותה מ[לא]
- 11 לוגמיו וכולי אמ⁶ רב יהודה אמ⁶ שמואל לא מלא לוגמיו ממש אלא כל שאילו יסלקם¹⁰⁴ לצד אחד ויראה כמל[א]
- 12 לוגמיו והא אנן מלא לוגמיו תנן¹⁰⁵ א[לא] מלא לוגמיו מותיבי¹⁰⁶ כמה ישתה ויהא חייב [בית] שמא אומרין [ר]בי[עית]¹⁰⁷

(Remainder missing)

Verso backward :

- 1 וקימא¹⁰⁸ [לן] כ[ר]ב הונא ור[ב] נחמן ד[מ]חנכי¹⁰⁹ [א]ו[תן]
- 2 חרא¹¹⁰ דרב[י]ם אינון ור[ב] יוחנן יחיר ויחיר [erasure]
- 3 ורבים הלכה כרבים [ו]עוד¹¹¹ דבתראי נינהו ועוד
- 4 דמחמרי טפי [ו]כד[יד]הום¹¹² סבירין¹¹³ מילין¹¹⁴ והכין נמי

⁸⁵ Talmud has דעתיה.

⁸⁶ Talmud has ובציר. Before it was written on the fragment ובציר as if it were a participle, but it was scratched out and written above וב, namely, ובציר.

⁸⁷ The fragment omits the passage from מיתבי 79a to דלא שכיחי פירי 79b, the author not thinking it of importance for his purpose.

⁸⁸ Talmud has חסירה. In the fragment פחותה is written under it, apparently, in explanation.

⁸⁹ The fragment omits the passage which follows דתנן, which was rejected in the Talmud, and continues with the following passage.

The fragment begins with a heading: "Laws [concerning] Prohibitions of the Fast of the Day of Atonement." Then follow three Talmudic extracts on Washing. Between the first two and the present third section there seems to have been another on the same subject; but at present the space is filled by an extract from Maimonides on entering into the Holy of Holies and the Temple. The last line of this insertion comes just under the first line of the passage on Washing. Between the second passage and the insertion from Maimonides is a note stating that the law permitting bathing in case of pollution, even on the Day of Atonement, is no longer in force; and the authority is a Rabbi Moses, apparently Maimonides. This note continues upside down in smaller script behind the lines. Two line-spaces below the passage on Washing there follows one on Anointing. At the end

⁹⁰ Talmud adds דברי רבי מאיר. For the omission in MSS^{m,1,2} see .ד.ס. p. 256, note ב.

⁹¹ This word is omitted in the Talmud, but is found in MS². See .ד.ס. *ibid*.

⁹² Talmud has ואי זה זה, but אכילה is feminine.

⁹³ Talmud adds שאמרו, but it is omitted in MSS^{m,9}. See .ד.ס. p. 257.

⁹⁴ The infinitive absol. is omitted in the Talmud, but it is found in MS⁹. See .ד.ס. note 1.

⁹⁵ Talmud adds לאו, but it is omitted in MSS. See .ד.ס. *ibid*.

⁹⁶ Talmud adds כביצה משבעה ככותבת מיתבא דעתיה. The phrase is omitted in MS^m and is superfluous.

⁹⁷ Talmud has תניא רבי אומר.

⁹⁸ Talmud has כל השעורין כולן.

⁹⁹ The wording of the entire passage is not found in the Talmud, but it is extracted from it, after omitting the טמאת אוכלין about which the writer of the fragment was not concerned.

¹⁰⁰ The phrase לא תעונה ולא כתוב לא תאכל is omitted in the Talmud, but found in MS². See .ד.ס. p. 257, note 1.

¹⁰¹ Talmud has Aramaic בשיעוריה.

¹⁰² The rest of the passage is omitted.

¹⁰³ Talmud adds ועונשין.

¹⁰⁴ Talmud has יסלקנו. Compare Job xxi, 16 טובנו=טובם.

¹⁰⁵ Talmud has והא אנן תנן מלוא לונמיו, but MSS have the same text as the fragment.

¹⁰⁶ Talmud has correctly מותיבי, but also מיתיבי is possible. See Margolis, *The Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud*, section 38.

¹⁰⁷ The rest of the passage is now missing. It was wiped away in order to gain space for the passage from the Talmud which is written in smaller script. It surely contained the passage about תינוקות in B. Yōmā 82a, to which the margin was attached.

¹⁰⁸ Although the text is badly preserved, we can with certainty state that it refers to the law about תינוקות in B. Yōmā 82a. Since its contents were not found in Talmud, they were written on the margin. Compare note 61.

The author decides about the fasting of children as does Rab Huna and Rab Naḥmān, and not as Rabbi Yōhānān. The first phrase is found in Alfāsī.

¹⁰⁹ The words are badly preserved, but these words are fitting to the context.

¹¹⁰ This argument is given in העיטור, 2nd part 45a.

¹¹¹ This argument is found in Rabbi Ḥananel and Alfāsī.

¹¹² The following is written in smaller script and is possibly a later addition by the man who used it. He confirms the decision of the original writer. The first phrase is doubtful. Compare the argument of Rabbi Yeshāyā for his decision against the opinion of Rabbi Yōhānān which is essentially the same as given here:

ופסק רבינו ישעיה דלית הלכתא כרבי יוחנן דהא אתותב

(See שבילי הלקט N. 312.)

- 5 פסק רבינו¹¹³ חננאל [לאים] ורא¹¹⁴ מרבנן¹¹⁵ [ואית]¹¹⁶ מאן דפסק
- 6 כ[ר] יוחנן ואינן רבינו יהודה הכהן רא[ש]¹¹⁷ ה[סדר]¹¹⁸
- 7 וקאמ¹¹⁹ ... רב ..¹²⁰
- 8 ורבינו יצחק בעל¹²¹ ..
- 9 [ד]פסק¹²²
- 10 ואנן כתבי[נן] נמ[י] דסבירא לן דהלכה כרב הונא ורב
- 11 נחמן בתינו[קוית]
- 1 גמ' אסור¹²³ ענוש כרת ה[וא] אמ⁶ [ר'] אלעא¹²⁴ ואיתימ¹²⁵ ר' ירמיה לא נצר[כ]ה אלא לחצי ש[יעו]ר⁶ ר' הניח[א]
- 2 למאן דאמ⁶ חצי שיעור [א]סור¹²⁶ [אל]א למאן דאמ⁶ חצי שיעור מותר¹²⁶ מ[אי] אי[כא] ל[מי]מר דאיתמר
- 3 חצי שיעור ר' יוחנן [א]מ⁶ אסור מן התורה ריש לקיש אמ⁶ מותר¹²⁶ • [ר'] יוחנן אמ⁶
- 4 אסור¹²⁶ כיון דחאזי⁵ לאיצטרופי איסורא אכיל¹²⁸ ריש לקיש אמ⁶ מותר¹²⁶ אכיל[ה] אמ⁶
- 5 [רחמנא] והא לאו אכילה [היא]¹²⁹ הניחא לר' יוחנן אלא לריש לקיש מאי איכא למימר מודה
- 6 [ריש] לקיש דאסור¹³⁰ מ[דר]בנן • וכל¹³¹ היכא¹³² דענוש כ[ר]ת לא קתאני^{133,5} אסור [ר'] התניא
- 7 אעפ' שאמרו אסור בכ[ו] לן אין¹³⁴ ענוש כרת אלא האוכל¹³⁵ ושותה ועושה מלאכה
- 8 בלבד • הכי קאמ⁶ [כש]אמרו אסור לא אמרו אלא בכחצי שיעור אבל בשיע[ור] ענוש
- 9 כרת ואין¹³⁶ ענוש כרת [אל]א האוכל¹³⁵ והשותה בלבד¹³⁷ ועושה מלאכה בלבד • איבעית¹³⁸
- 10 אימ¹²⁵ כי קתאני⁵ אסור אשארא דתנ[ו] רבה ורב יוסף בשאר סיפרי דבי רב מגין [ל]י[ו]ם
- 11 הכפורים שאסור ב[ר] חיצה ובסי[כ]ה¹³⁹ בנעילת¹³⁸ הסנדל ובתשמיש המטה תל שב[תו]ן

¹¹³ See note 111.

¹¹⁴ The word is not well preserved, but there are traces of the letters. Perhaps the questioned letter was י.

¹¹⁵ The last letter is not certain, but it fits the context.

of this a line was omitted; and this is added in the margin with marks indicating its insertion. Then follows a passage on the wearing of shoes, the ending of which is mutilated by erasures, circles, and marginal corrections. The text is interrupted in the middle. Then is inserted a law from Maimonides on salting the sacrifices. Then comes a three-fold colophon in which the writer thanks God for helping him to explain these laws. On the left-hand margin is a law about a cripple who is forbidden to use his peculiar shoe on the Day of Atonement. There must have been something about this in the original text, which was removed to accommodate the passage from Maimonides. To the decision on the margin a much confused note is attached. In the midst are a few faint words in Aramaic, relating to the subject, but belonging to an earlier entry on top of which this was written. As we see from the narrowness of the space, both notes were written after the passage from Maimonides was filled in. At the end of the *recto* are two lines which seem to be the remains of the original text, upside down, and which escaped the erasure. They treat of a subject apparently from Middōth. In the space between the Talmudic passage on the wearing of shoes and the insertion from Maimonides are a few unintelligible words.

¹¹⁶ The restoration is not certain.

¹¹⁷ The restoration is not beyond doubt. If this restoration is correct we may have here an allusion to the leader of the Babylonian section at Fustāṭ. See for this person Jacob Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine, under the Fāṭimids*, vol. ii, p. 101, note 2, and elsewhere.

¹¹⁸ Here follows another illegible word or ligature.

¹¹⁹ The word seems to be a remainder of the former text. The rest is wiped away.

¹²⁰ The word is not clear.

¹²¹ The name of the book is not clear. Perhaps we have here the Alfāsī referred to. The letters are perhaps מִסֵּס, namely, מִנְהַל סִתְרִים. Compare Mann, vol. i, p. 297, note 1.

¹²² If the preceding suggestion is correct the text could be restored כִּרְבַּב הוֹנָא וְרַב נַחֲמָן.

¹²³ The passage is found in B. Yōmā 73b.

¹²⁴ Talmud אֵילָא, but MS^m אֵלֶעָא. See .ד.ס., p. 220, note א.

¹²⁵ Here תִּימ without א. Cf. note 40.

¹²⁶ Talmud adds מִן הַתּוֹרָה. Cf. MS². See .ד.ס., p. 220, note ב, p. 221, note י.

¹²⁷ The arguments of Rabbi Yōḥānān and Rēsh Lākīsh are omitted in the Talmud in this place, but followed at the end of the passage with the introductory word גּוֹפֵא (*ibid.* 74).

¹²⁸ Talmud adds קָא.

¹²⁹ Talmud has וְלִיכָא, but see MSS^{0,1}. .ד.ס., p. 220, note י.

¹³⁰ Talmud has Hebrew אָמַר לָךְ רִישׁ לְקִישׁ מֵאֵי אֲסוּר נָמִי. See .ד.ס., p. 220, note ב.

¹³¹ B. Yōmā 74a. The passage which precedes this in the Talmud is omitted here since it has nothing to do with the Day of Atonement.

¹³² Talmud adds דְּתָנִי, but it is omitted in the MSS. See .ד.ס., p. 221, note ח.

¹³³ Talmud omits the ק.

¹³⁴ Talmud has לֹא אָמְרוּ, but cf. MSS^{2,1} in .ד.ס., p. 221, note ט.

¹³⁵ Talmud adds עַל.

¹³⁶ Talmud adds וְאַתָּם שְׁעוֹנֵי כֹרֶת. MSS^{2,1} have the same text as the fragment. See .ד.ס., p. 221, note ט.

¹³⁷ The word was scratched out by the writer as soon as he realised his mistake.

¹³⁸ Talmud adds ו.

¹³⁹ Talmud omits the ו.

- 12 שבות: תנו¹⁴⁰ רבנן תענו את נפשותיכם¹⁴¹ וכל מלאכה לא תעשו. מה מלאכה שחייבין עליה¹⁴²
- 13 [במ]קום אחר אף ענוי נפש שחייבין עליו במקום אחר ואי זה זה פיגול ונותר. מרבה¹⁴³ אני
- 14 [פיגול] ונותר שהן ב[היכר]ת¹⁴⁴ ולא ארבה¹⁴³ טבל¹⁴⁵ שאינו בהיכרת¹⁴⁴ תל¹⁴⁶ ועניתם את נפשותיכם
- 15 [ר]י[בה] מרבה¹⁴³ א[ני] טבלים¹⁴⁷ שהן במיתה ולא ארבה¹⁴³ נבלות¹⁴⁷ שאינן במיתה
- 16 תל¹⁴⁶ ועניתם את נפשותיכם ריבה. מ[רבה]¹⁴³ אני נבלות שהן בלאו ולא ארבה¹⁴³ ח[ח]לין
- 17 [שאינן] בלאו [תל¹⁴⁶ ועניתם את] נפשותיכם ריבה. מרבה¹⁴³ אני חולין¹⁴⁴ שאינן בעמור¹⁴⁸
- 18 [ואכנל] ולא ארבה¹⁴³ תרומה¹⁴⁴ ומעשר שני¹⁴⁹ שהן בעמור¹⁴⁸ ואכול תל¹⁴⁶ ועניתם את
- 19 [נפשותיכם ריב[ה]] מרבה¹⁴³ אני תרומה ומעשר שני¹⁴⁹ שאינן בבל תותירו ולא
- 20 [אר]בה¹⁴³ קדשים¹⁴⁴ שהן בבל תותירו תל תענו¹⁵⁰ את נפשותיכם ריבה.

Insertions: No. 1: Recto:

- 10 הילכות¹⁵¹ ביאת [המקד]ש ולא להיכלא
- 11 אוהרינהו¹⁵² רחמנא לכהנ[יא] דלא למיעל לקודש קודשיא דלא בעידן ש¹⁵³ פולחנא דכתי¹⁵³ ואל יבוא בכל עת אל
- 12 הקודש זה קודש הקדשים מב[י]ת לפרכת להזהיר על כל הבית וכל¹⁵⁴ כהן שנכנס לקודש הקדשים בשאר ימות
- 13 השנה בין כהן גדול¹⁵⁵ ובין כהן הדיוט וב[י]ן¹⁵⁶ כהן גדול שנכנס לו ביום הכפורים שלא בשעת עבודה חייב מיתה בידי
- 14 שמים שז' ולא ימות¹⁵⁷ אבל¹⁵⁸ הנכנס להיכל¹⁵⁹ [לא] לעבודה או להשתחויה¹⁶⁰ בין כהן¹⁶¹ גדול בין כהן הדיוט לוקה ואינו חייב מיתה
- 15 שנא¹⁶² ולא ימות על קודש הקדשים במיתה ועל ש[אר] הבית בלאו ולוקה:

Under line 16:

כמה¹⁶³ פעמים הוא נכנס לשם¹⁶⁴ ארבע¹⁶⁵...

The *verso* begins with a final sentence on the wearing of shoes. Then follows a passage from the Babylonian Talmud on the lighting of candles on the Day of Atonement, and another from the Jerusalem Talmud on the same act when it occurs on the Sabbath. After this there is a blank space and a marginal note. The next passage, on the side, contains passages from both Talmuds, on Eating—that from the Babylonian shortened considerably. This is followed by something about Drinking, interrupted in the middle by an erasure, in which is inserted a Talmudic excerpt in smaller script. On the margin, from the bottom up, is a note on the fasting of children, referring probably to the original text here erased. It seems to be by a later writer, and bears the name of Rabbi Ḥananēl, as well as the names of authorities otherwise minded, though the names and the analysis are uncertain. There is some illegible writing behind and above.

There are thus four elements in the fragment: 1. A main text, dealing with laws on the Day of Atonement, and taken from the Talmud. 2. Marginal notes on decisions touching such laws. 3. Inaccurate extracts from Maimonides. 4. Additions to the main text.

¹⁴⁰ B. Yōmā 74b. Talmud has another apocryphal Mishnah, but it is omitted in Jer. Yōmā 44d.

¹⁴¹ Talmud adds *יכול יושב בחמה ובצינה ויצטער הלל*. For the text of the fragment see MS^m in .ד.ס., p. 222. Cf. note ע.

¹⁴² The text agrees with MSS (see .ד.ס., note פ), while the Talmud has *דבר שחייבין עליו*.

¹⁴³ Talmud has *אביא*, but MSS^{o,1} have *מרבח אני* and *ארבה*. See .ד.ס., p. 223, notes ה, ת, ר.

¹⁴⁴ We have here the origin of *כרת*. See Levy, *Wörterbuch*, vol. ii, p. 420.

¹⁴⁵ Talmud adds *את ה*....

¹⁴⁶ Talmud adds *תענו*. Some MSS^{o,1} have only this and omit *ועניתם*. However MS² has the same text as the fragment. See .ד.ס., notes ק, ש, ט.

¹⁴⁷ Thus MSS^{o,1}, but Talmud *הטבל...נבלה*.

¹⁴⁸ Talmud *בקום*. For *עמוד* see MSS^{o,1} in .ד.ס., note ב.

¹⁴⁹ This is omitted in Talmud and has consequently the singular. For the text of the fragment compare .ד.ס., notes ג, ב.

¹⁵⁰ Talmud adds *ועניתם*. But it is omitted in MSS^{o,1}. Cf. .ד.ס., notes ג, ה.

¹⁵¹ The text is from Maimonides *ג. ב. ג. יד החזקה, הלכות ביאת המקדש*.

¹⁵² The first sentence is changed here from Hebrew into Aramaic. The original has *והזהירו כל הכהנים שלא יכנסו לקדש או לקדש הקדשים שלא בשעת עבודה*

¹⁵³ The word *שנאמר*, which is put above the text, is in the original and is better fitting than *דכתב*.

¹⁵⁴ Original omits *ן*.

¹⁵⁵ Original has reversed order.

¹⁵⁶ Original *או*.

¹⁵⁷ Original has here *נכנס הוא פעמים*. In the fragment it is at the end.

¹⁵⁸ Original only *ן*.

¹⁵⁹ Original has instead *לקדש חוץ לקדש הקדשים*.

¹⁶⁰ Original *להשתחוות*.

¹⁶¹ Original reverse order and omits *כהן*.

¹⁶² Original adds *אל פני הכפרת*.

¹⁶³ See note 157.

¹⁶⁴ Original adds *ביום הכפורים*.

¹⁶⁵ The last letters seem to be a ligature *מקום להאריך* and *ואכמל* namely, *ואין כאן מקום להאריך*. Original has *וכבר בארנו*....

No. 2: Recto:

32 הילכות¹⁶⁶ מלח

33 הילכות השבתת מלח

להקריב קרבן בלא מלח

34 הוזהירנו¹⁶⁷ הקב"ה שלא להשבית¹⁶⁸ המלח מעל הקרבנות שנא' ולא תשבית

מלח ברית

35 אלהיך¹⁶⁹ וכל המקריב¹⁷⁰ קרבן חוץ מיין הנסכים והדם והעצים בלא מלח

36 כלל הריזה לוקה¹⁷¹ ואעפ"י שלוקה הקרבן כשר והורצה חוץ מן המנחה

37 שהמלח מעכב בקומצה¹⁷² שנא' ולא תשבית ברית אלהיך מעל מנחתך¹⁷³:

38 בריך¹⁷⁴ רחמנא דסייען [למנמר]

39 פירוש הילכות השבתת מלח

40 הלכה זו פשוטה היא בריך רחמנא דסייען

41 סליקן להו הילכות השבתת מלח גירסא ופירושא ...

Addition¹⁷⁵ to recto, lines 7-8 (הרואה קרי):

8 פי אלפירושא¹⁷⁶ ... הא¹⁷⁷ דתניא הא מילתא חזיא ליה לרבינו משה הרב

הגדול דאוקמ

9 האי שמעתא¹⁷⁸ אוקמה רבינו משה¹⁷⁹ הרב

מימרא איקמיה הגדול נ.¹⁸⁰ בחיבורא דיליה¹⁸¹

בשעה שתיקנו

Verso:

1 טבילה לבעלי קראין וכבר ביטלוה לטבילותא

2 הילכך¹⁸²

3 וטעמ' דמסתבר הוא

4 ואעפ"י שאין דעתו שלימה מתקרת עד שיטבול

Addition to קטע (left margin of recto):

1 לא¹⁸³ יחרם

2 אלא¹⁸⁴ אלגויד¹⁸⁵ ...

3 הדה אלקצא¹⁸⁶ קב

¹⁶⁶ The original is in Maimonides ה' יא-יב. It has two inadequate headings.

¹⁶⁷ It is a free rendering of the original: מצות עשה למלוח כל הקרבנות קודם שיעלו למזבח.

¹⁶⁸ The words written above explain the word להשבית.

¹⁶⁹ Original quotes מלח תקריב מלח.

¹⁷⁰ Original has הקריב. שאין לך דבר שקרב למזבח בלא מלח חוץ מיין הנסכים והדם והעצים. בלא מלח כלל לוקה.

¹⁷¹ Here is added אלהיך ברית מלח חשבית מלח ברית אלהיך.

¹⁷² Original has בקמיצה.

¹⁷³ Omitted in original.

¹⁷⁴ This is a colophon, which is written in three different ways in order to fill in the space.

The main body of the text is not simply copied from the Talmud. It does not follow the same order as the latter, even including a passage from Pesahim; it omits portions of passages when irrelevant to the purpose in hand; it combines both Talmuds; and it uses the Talmudic expression **תנן היום** for a Mishnah from another treatise. Our fragment is thus clearly a codification, perhaps from some *pōsēḳ*, though different from those commonly known. It reminds one of Alfāsi and other African scholars. It uses the technical term **ואסיקנה**; regards both Talmuds as equally authoritative; omits unnecessary text; and agrees on the fasting of children. On the other hand there is no explanation of words and phrases; and the text itself contains no decisions. We may conclude that this codification could dispense with explanations and decisions, because it was to be used by a teacher, or with the help of a teacher. The character of the erasures and additions, as above described, point rather to the conclusion that we have here a teacher's notes. It seems not to have been taken from an existing *pōsēḳ*, but to have been composed independently for teaching purposes, and there may have been other pages of the same sort, covering the other holy days. The spiritual leaders of communities were accustomed to teach them the laws concerning each holy day thirty days in advance. Our fragment might be the memorandum of such a teacher; and it might even have gained currency, as a sort of **מגלת סתרים** in distinction from a **מגלה**. (Cf. Levy, *Wörterbuch*, vol. iii, p. 17.) The Mishnah was not included, because it was already known to the pupils, or more easily available. Possibly Alfāsi's work was called **מגלת סתרים** for the same reason. Cf. Mann, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 297, note 1.

¹⁷⁵ The addition seems to have been put in after the space was filled with the insertion copied from Maimonides.

¹⁷⁶ It seems to be Arabic. The rest is not clear. "In explanation"...

¹⁷⁷ The line was partly crossed out.

¹⁷⁸ The word **שמעתה** was explained by **מימרא**.

¹⁷⁹ Here reference is surely made to Maimonides.

¹⁸⁰ The first letter seems to be certainly a **נ**. The second letter, unfortunately, is not clear. The word is apparently a ligature. It was either **נִי**, in which case Maimonides was alive, or **נָע**, in which case he had already died. The lack of space urged the writer not to be extravagant in titles. **הרב הגדול** is the usual title for Maimonides.

¹⁸¹ **ג ג** **יד החוקה הלכות שביתת עשור**. For the designation of this work as **חבור** see *Ḳobeṣ* I, 25°. (Cf. Mann, vol. ii, p. 316.)

¹⁸² Some words are omitted, namely **אסור לטבול**...

¹⁸³ The addition to **קטע** was written after the insertion from Maimonides was made and thus there was no space left for it, and therefore filled in the space in wedge form. The beginning is in Arabic, the end in Hebrew and in the middle are some words in Aramaic.

¹⁸⁴ The glossator intends apparently to define what **קב** is prohibited. And he states: "It is forbidden only....."

¹⁸⁵ The word is badly written and the letters are indistinguishable. From the context we may assume that it designates the form of the **קב** which is forbidden to be used on the Day of Atonement. This must be in the form of a shoe, otherwise there is no reason for its being forbidden to be used on the Day of Atonement. Cf. Tōsephōth to Yōmā 78b.

¹⁸⁶ Perhaps the same word is referred to in Tōsephōth, *ibid.* **אשקצא**.

4 אֶלְכֶשֶׁב¹⁸⁷ אֶלְאִיגֹז5 אֶלְכְרוֹגֹ בּוֹא[?]6 פִּי יוֹם הַכְּפוּרִים[?]7 [] אֶל...[?]

8 .. א.

9 דַּאֲתִי¹⁸⁸ לַאֲתִי

10 דִּ אֲמוֹת

11 בְּרִישׁ הַרְבִּים

12 וְלִהְדֹא[?]13 חֲרַמַּת¹⁸⁹

14 בְּיוֹם הַכְּפוּרִים

15 לְפִיכֶךְ גַּם

16 לִבּ .. גַּם

17 בְּבֵית

18 מוֹתֶר¹⁹⁰*Recto backward:*1 פִּי חִיל¹⁹¹ בֵּית[?] בֵּין¹⁹² ...2 [מ]קִים מִידוֹת¹⁹³ וְתוֹכוֹ אַרְבַּע[?][י]םאִמָּה וְאִמָּה טֶרְקִסִין וְעִשְׂרִים אִמָּה¹⁹⁴ ...3 אִמָּה^{195,6} דִּ נָתַן אִמָּה טֶרְקִסִין לֹאהַכְּרִיעוּ¹⁹⁶ חֲכָמִים אִי כְּלָפְנִים

אִי כְּלַחוּיִן

¹⁸⁷ The words are the Arabic الخشب العجوز الخروج.¹⁸⁸ These few words are a remainder of an earlier note in Aramaic.¹⁸⁹ This is apparently the end of the Arabic note.¹⁹⁰ This seems to be the end of the note from which few words remained in Aramaic. Cf. note 188.¹⁹¹ It seems that we have here an explanation of חִיל. Cf. Levy, *s.v.*

The fragment in its present state contains the names of Maimonides, Rabbi Ḥananēl, Rabbi Judah ha-Kōhēn, and Rabbi Isaac. But the last one is uncertain, and all four are probably younger than the text, Maimonides at any rate. The text itself is a copy, as may be seen from errors, corrections, omissions and inconsistencies, of a sort very unlikely in an original. No conclusion as to date is possible.

If we look for a likely author, someone from the country of Rabbi Ḥananēl, a teacher, to whom a מגלת סתרים was attributed, we may choose Rabbi Nissīm Gā'ōn, author of ספר המפתח. See דור דור ודורשין, vol. iv, pp. 236–238. By מגלת סתרים was meant, however, particularly the teacher's comments, preserved by the pupils, and not intended by the teacher for publication. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. ix, 315 ff. The present fragment is the text-book, to which the comments and their results were attached. Thus the present fragment contains a passage from the Jerusalem Talmud about כותבת which is quoted from Rabbi Nissīm by the 'Ārūkh, apparently from his מגלת סתרים.

The fragment is important if it proves to be a page from the מגלת סתרים, or even from some text-book. In any case it has a text superior to that of the printed edition of the Talmud, in the sense that it combines the best of the known variant readings; and it may well be the old African recension of this time.

¹⁹² The phrase is not well preserved and is not clear.

¹⁹³ Mishnah Middōth 4, 7.

¹⁹⁴ In the Mishnah בית קרש הקרשים. There is not enough space for all these. Perhaps we have here a ligature.

¹⁹⁵ B. Yōmā 52a.

¹⁹⁶ Talmud adds בו.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Talmūd Babilī, meaning the printed Talmud, Wilna, 1881: Text, Rashī, Tōsephōth, Rabbi Ḥananēl, Tōsephōth Yeshānīm, Rabbi Asher.

Talmūd Jerūshalmī, Louis Lamm, Berlin, 1920. (Photographic reproduction of Krotoschin edition.)

For the MSS: דקדוקי סופרים (abbreviated: ד.ס.) of Raphael Rabbinowicz, 1871. The Munich MS is designated by a small m, the second MS of the same place by z, the Oxford by o, the British Museum by l (London), following the Hebrew marks used by Rabbinowicz.

The following Pōseḳīm, which partly share the methods of the writer of the fragment, were compared:

הלכות גדולות Warsaw, 1874, pp. 61–62.

Rabbi Ḥananēl, Wilna, 1881.

Alfāsi, Wilna, 1881.

פירטה, תרכא, ר' יצחק בן ר' יהודה אבן גיא of מאה שערים, p. 49 ff.

ר' יצחק בן ר' אבא מארי of ספר העיטור, printed in Lemberg, 1860, second part p. 44 ff.

ר' יצחק בן ר' משה of אור זרוע from Vienna, printed in Zitomir, 1862, second part p. 162 ff.

Rabbi Asher, printed in Wilna, 1881.

ר' צדקיהו בר אברהם of שבלי הלקט, Wilna, 1866.

XLV. LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK

Paper $6\frac{3}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches, folded down the middle so as to form two leaves and four pages, all of which are covered with writing in the same difficult cursive Hebrew hand. On *verso* (*b*) the postscripts have been written diagonally.

The language is Arabic, with a colloquial tinge, at times very difficult, not only because of the strange constructions, but also on account of the many technical terms relating to wearing apparel and the like.

The date is A.D. 1141-1142.

Recto: (a)

1 אלקנין מן אלשיך אבו יעקוב יוסף בן אלדהבי

2 אנה יכתב אלמלך באלגויים בעד ג אשר

3 אב ואלול אתנג ותשרי אתנד

4 באסם אבנתה ואלנקל ואלגעל

5 ויקום ללצבייה באלדי להא ענדה

6 מן אעלאק אבאעהא להא

7 ואלנקל ואלגעל עלי אלסנה יקום מן דלך

8 אלשיך אבו אלמפצל אברהם בן עובדיה

9 בג' דנא' ואלבאקי מן אלסעה אלדנא'

10 אלדי להא ואלשרט עליהא אן לס יפעל

11 אבוהא דלך תכרג בלא מוכר

12 ואלשרט עלי אבו אלמפצל אנה לא

13 יצרבהא ולא ישתמהא ולא יטלב

14 מנהא פירות אלמלך ואנה קד געלהא

15 להא בכסותהא ומתי טלב מנהא פירות

16 כאן עליה תלאתה דנא' לאלמעוט ועלי

17 אנה קד תכרא מנהא וגעלהא ברסם

18 אלכסות ואברא כל מנהם לצאחבה

19 אלאב ואלאבנה ואלוזג ואלכתובה

¹ I.e. "he will write in the name of."

² Era of Documents: Tammūz 1453 = July A.D. 1141.

³ I.e. "turnover and make."

⁴ See No. XL, Introduction and note 8.

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

XLV. LEAVES FROM A NOTE-BOOK

The contents of the four pages seem to be unrelated. *Recto* (a) and (b) and *verso* (a) refer to marriage settlements, similar to those in No. XL. *Verso* (b) deals with a case, very interesting but not very clear. Mufaḍḍal, under the suretyship of al-Labbān, buys of Abū al-Ḥasan—Muslims, all of them—the “offspring” of Janān Nathan Ben Isaac, the Jew; and another daughter of Nathan becomes the property of Abū al-Ḥasan. Nathan seems to have died or to have been forced in some unknown manner to permit such a transaction.

Recto : (a)

- 1 The possessions of the Sheikh Abū Jacob Joseph Ibn al-Dhahabī:
- 2 He will convey¹ the property [which is invested] among the gentiles
after three months—
- 3 Āb and Elūl 1453, and Tishrī 1454²—
- 4 to his daughter, together with the profit and gain³ [accruing from its in-
vestment].
- 5 And he will give to the girl what he has of hers, [accruing]
- 6 from apparel which he caused to be sold for her,
- 7 and the profit and gain³ by the year. Of this [marriage settlement the
bridegroom,]
- 8 the Sheikh Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Abraham Ben Obadiah, shall provide
- 9 three dīnārs [muḡdām,]⁴ and [six dīnārs, me'ūḡhār,]⁴ the rest of the nine
dīnārs
- 10 which belong to her. And the condition [laid] upon her [is that], if her
father
- 11 shall not do this, she shall go forth [from her father's house] without any
purchase price⁵ [from the bridegroom].
- 12 And the condition laid upon Abū al-Mufaḍḍal [is that] he shall not
- 13 beat her, nor insult her, nor demand
- 14 from her the fruits⁶ of [her invested] property; for he has promised them to
- 15 her through her [investments in] apparel. And if he shall demand of her
the fruits⁶ [of her investment],
- 16 he shall be liable for three dīnārs for the⁷
- 17 and on condition that he has(?)⁸ from her, whereas he promised
them [to her] in the agreement
- 18 [about] the apparel. And each of them absolves his companions [from
all liability]:
- 19 the father, and the daughter, and the husband. And the marriage con-
tract

⁵ מומכר for Hebrew מִכָּר or else for Hebrew מֵאוּחָר.

⁶ Hebrew פִּירוֹת, plural of פֶּרִי.

⁷ Hebrew קְמַעוֹת

⁸ קִטְלָא

- 20 באקיה עלי חאלהא בגמיע שרוטהא
 21 מן אלמאחר ואלנדוניא וסאיר אלשרוט
 22 ואלעמארה לים לאבי אלמפצל
 23 דא אלזאמה בשי מנהא ליוסף דא
 24 בלאיש יעמרה יוסף דא פיהא ליסא לה
 25 מטאלבה אבו אלמפצל דא ולא
 26 לזוגתה בשי מנהא כתב בחדש
 27 תמוז אתנג

Recto : (b)

- 1 קרצה דהב מגרייה כמסה
 2 וכואתים דהב וכאתם פצה וכאתמין פצה
 3 צרגין מראללין לולו חצאר
 4 מראה מחלאה רהן ענדהם עלי דינארין
 5 דמלג ענבר תלאתה דנא' בפס דהב
 6 מלעקה ווברייה ומילין ומרוחה
 7 וקעבה פצה... אלכסף תלאתה דנ
 8 גמכאהל בלור בג' ופמאס דהב תלאתה
 9 רפארה ובלטייה ודרג דינאר
 10 אלגמיע מאיה וסבעה דנא'
 11 אלמלבוס
 12 כל[ע]ה תגב ביאין חרירי
 13 מדהב ארב[עין]
 14 [חר]ירי
 15 ומ... [ח]רירי כמסין
 16 כלעה יאהו[די] ומעגרהא ארבעין
 17 גוביניה לבכי [ומ]גדיל דביקי תלאתין
 18 מלאה ח[רירי] שרפין ונקא[ב] כמסה ותלתי[ן]
 19 תגב שמ[ס] מדהב מלבוס
 20 ומגדיל אורק תלאתין
 21 גוב[יניה] דביקי זרקא
 22 וכצי אורק עשרין

⁹ Vernacular Egyptian Arabic, the postpositive demonstrative *da*.

- 20 remains as it is in all its stipulations
 21 as to the me'ūḥār and the nedunyāh⁴, and the remaining conditions.
 22 And [as to] the housekeeping : This⁹ Abū al-Mufaḍḍal has no
 23 responsibility for any part of it. This⁹ Joseph⁹ has [the responsibility].
 24 Without cost¹⁰ he shall maintain [Abū al-Mufaḍḍal] in it. He has no
 [right to make any]
 25 request of this Abū al-Mufaḍḍal, nor
 26 of his wife for any part of it. Written in the month of
 27 Tammūz 1453²

Recto : (b)

- 1 A Hungarian (?) gold disc—five.
 2 And gold rings¹¹, and a silver ring¹², and two silver rings—five.
 3 Two saddles¹³.....pearls, a saddle cushion.
 4 A mirror.....said to be worth about two dīnārs.
 5 A large amber armband [worth] three dīnārs, with a gold bezel (?)¹⁴.
 6 A spoon, and a deep bowl, and two collyrium sticks, and a fan¹⁵.
 7 And a silver cup.....¹⁶—three dīnārs.
 8 A crystal.....for three [dīnārs], and a gold.....—three [dīnārs].
 9 A saddle cushion and a.....and a jewel-box—[one] dīnār.
 10 The whole [equals] a hundred and seven dīnārs.
 11 The clothing :
 12 A silk.....of white.
 13gilded—forty.
 14silk,
 15 andsilk—fifty.
 16 A Jewish.....and its hood—forty.
 17 A Labakī (?).....and a Dabīkī¹⁷ kerchief—thirty.
 18 A silk cloak.....and niḳāb¹⁸—thirty-five.
 19 A gilded sun.....¹⁹ garment.
 20 A blue kerchief—thirty.
 21 A blue Dabīkī¹⁷.....²⁰
 22 and a blue.....—twenty.

¹⁰ Vernacular Arabic, *balāsh*. The pronunciation here indicated would be *balā'ish* or *balāish*.

¹¹ خواتم. ¹² This phrase has been deleted.

¹³ I.e. سرجين, with لا for د.

¹⁴ فص, with د for لا.

¹⁵ Deleted, then written above.

¹⁶ Hebrew כסף, "silver," "money"?

¹⁷ According to Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 548, Dabīk was a place in Egypt, between al-Faramā and Tinnīs, at which a certain cloth was made.

¹⁸ A kind of veil.

¹⁹ תנב as in line 12.

²⁰ גוביניה as in line 17.

Verso: (a)

- 1 גוביניה דביקי חרירי
 2 ומנתומה עתאבי עשרי[ן]
 3 מערקה לאלס ומנדיל דביקי
 4 ונצף רדא משפע תלאתין
 5 עצאבה מני ומנדיל דביקי ביאי'ן ארבעין
 6 עצאבה מני ומנדיל ימאני עשרין
 7 רדה ביאי'ן ורדה זרקא עשרה
 8 מלבוסה גלאיה ונקאב עשרה
 9 מנדילין בר . . ה חמר סתה
 10 מנדיל ספט ומנדיל מן דמה
 11 וארבעה מנדיל תמאניה עשר
 12 ערצי דביקי כמסה
 13 מערקה לאלס וא. די עשרי[ן] ו[תל]תה
 14 ה ותכתין
 15 אלגמיע ארב[ע] מ[איה]
 16 [ח]מסין
 17 אלב. ט . . . ליק
 18 מרגבה דיבאנ . . . ייכי כמסין
 19 כא . . בה דביקי^{סתה} . . . ארבעין
 20 . . . קטם^פ
 21 טראחה דביקי בי[א]י'ן עשרה
 22 זוג תכאד סוס נגיד תלאתין
 23 זוג מכר רמאני זוג מכר . . . זוג
 24 מכר זרק אלגמיע דביקי כמסה ועשרין

Verso: (b)

- 1 מפצל בן אבוסעד בן צביאן
 2 אשתרי גאריה מולדה גנאן
 3 נתנאל בן יצחק אלתמן בל דינ'
 4 ביע אלגלב

²¹ According to Dozy, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*, a kind of taffeta originally of Bagdad.

²² Persian لَاس.

Verso: (a)

- 1 A silk Dabīkī¹⁷.....¹⁹
- 2 and an 'Attābī²¹.....—twenty.
- 3 A red silk²² skull-cap, and a Dabīkī kerchief.....
- 4 and a half cloak, doubled—thirty.
- 5 A Munyī²³ 'iṣābah²⁴ and a Dabīkī kerchief of white²⁵—forty.
- 6 A Munyī 'iṣābah and a Yemenite kerchief—twenty.
- 7 A white²⁵ cloak²⁶ and a blue cloak²⁶—ten.
- 8 A.....garment and a niḡāb¹⁸—ten.
- 9 Two kerchiefs, with a.....of red²⁵—six.
- 10 A kerchief of Saṭṭ²⁷ and a kerchief from.....
- 11 and four kerchiefs—eighteen.
- 12 A Dabīkī 'arḡā²⁸—five.
- 13 A red silk²² skull-cap and.....—twenty-three.
- 14and two waist-bands.....
- 15 The total, four hundred.
- 16fifty
- 17
- 18 A.....of brocade.....—fifty.
- 19 A Dabīkī.....²⁹.....—forty.
- 20
- 21 A Dabīkī coverlet of white—ten.
- 22 A pair of pillows: "Prince's Horse³⁰"—thirty.
- 23 A pair of pomegranate-red pillows³¹, and a pair of.....pillows³¹, and a pair of
- 24 blue pillows³¹. The total of Dabīkī [goods], twenty-five.

Verso: (b)

- 1 Mufaddal Ibn Abū Sa'd Ibn Ṣubyān
- 2 has bought a slave-girl, the child³² of Janān³³
- 3 Nathaniel Ibn Isaac, the price [being] 32 dinārs³⁴.
- 4 The sale of slaves

²³ For مَنِيّ (?) from مَنِيَّة, the name of several places in Egypt.

²⁴ A kind of turban.

²⁵ The nominal form بَيَاض as in line 12 of *recto: (b)*. Similarly حُمْر line 9.

²⁶ I.e. رِدَاء, as in line 4.

²⁷ Cf. Saṭṭ Abī Jirjā, Saṭṭ al-'Urfā and Saṭṭ al-Ḳudūr, Yāḡūt, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, pp. 97–98.

²⁸ According to Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch*, *sub voce* "a kind of cloth."

²⁹ Above the line: "six."

³⁰ Hebrew נָגִיד סוֹם.

³¹ I.e. مَخَاد. ³² مَوْلَدَة. Why not بِنْت?

³³ I.e. "dark." Janān is *not* the seller. He is the father of the girl.

³⁴ There is a strange mark over the 3, and both numerals seem to have been deleted.

- 5 גיר דרך אלחאל לאגיר
 6 ידפע לה פי דלך רביע אלכר
 7 זל ותק
 8 אלמואפק תשרי אתנד
 9 דינארין
 10 ואלבאקי דינאר ואחד
 11 פי כל שהר
 12 וכפילה בן עבראללה
 13 אללבאן
 14 ואלקנין מנהמא

- 1 ודלך במא פיה
 2 מן חק אלסוק וגעאל אלדלאלה
 1 ולגנאן דא צבייה עמרהא
 2 כמא ופא סנתין הי באקיה
 3 ללשיך אבו אלחסן אל
 4 באיע דא דון אל
 5 משתרי
 1 אלאצל דל
 2 קכא בעד דינארין
 3 אלשיך אבואלחסן
 4 מנהא דינארין אלבאקי בל

³⁵ רביע should have the article.

³⁶ The Muslim dating is unusual, and is due to the circumstance that the seller, purchaser and surety were Muhammadans. Both dates equal exactly Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1142.

5 at present [is] not otherwise than thus (?).
 6 He [now] pays him in this [month of] Rabī'³⁵ al-Ākhir,
 7 537 [A.H.]³⁶,
 8 corresponding to Tishrī, 1454, [Era of Documents]³⁶,
 9 two dīnārs,
 10 and the remaining [thirty dīnārs he will pay at the rate of] one dīnār
 11 every month.
 12 And his security is Ibn 'Abd Allāh³⁶
 13 al-Labbān³⁷,
 14 and the property of them both.

1 And this [has been agreed upon] together with what it involves
 2 in the way of market-fees and auctioneer's commissions.

1 And this³⁸ Janān has a girl, aged—
 2 according to settlement—two years. She remains [the property]
 3 of this Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan³⁹, the
 4 seller, instead of [becoming the property of] the
 5 buyer.

1 The basic [price is] 34.
 2after⁴⁰ two dīnārs.
 3 The Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan³⁹ [takes]
 4 from it two dīnārs. The remainder is [therefore] 32.

³⁷ I.e. "seller of sour milk," or "brick-maker."

³⁸ Vernacular Egyptian Arabic.

³⁹ This shows that Janān is *not* the seller. See note 33. The younger child is not "thrown in," but goes to the seller as a consideration.

⁴⁰ בער has been deleted.

XLVI. A PAGE FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

Paper $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, with writing on one side only.

Hebrew, in cursive Hebrew characters, pointed in a most unusual way which can be due only partly to ignorance. The vowels are here printed as they stand, regardless of the translation.

- 1 יְיָ שְׁמַעָה אֵל תְּפִלַּת עַמְּךָ וְאֵל תַּחֲנוּנָם : אֲשֶׁר
- 2 שָׁפְכוּ חֲנוּנִם לַהֲתוֹדוֹת עַל עֲוֹנָם : בִּשְׁעֵרֵי רַחֲמֶיךָ
- 3 מִשְׁגָּחִים כָּל הַמּוֹנֵם : בְּדַלְתֵי פֶתַחֲךָ דּוֹפְקִים הֵנָּה
- 4 יְיָ סִלְּחָה נְגוֹתָם חַטָּאת וְזִדּוֹנָם : גִּזִּיר דִּינָם
- 5 הֲרַע מַעַלְם וְעוֹלָם : דּוֹבְבִים לְרִצּוֹתֶךָ בִּשְׂרִיר
- 6 הַגִּיזוֹנָם : דּוֹר מַעַרְב וְעַד עַרְב לָךְ תְּלוּיֹת עֵינָם :
- 7 בִּי יְיָ הַמַּעֲרִיב עַרְבִים :
- 8 אֶהְבֵּת עוֹלָם יִשְׂרָאֵל עַמְּךָ אֶהְבֵּתָה תּוֹרָה וּמִצְוֹת
- 9 חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים אוֹתָנוּ לְמִדָּתָה עַל כֵּן בִּשְׁכַבְנוּ
- 10 וּבִקְוִימוֹנוּ תוּ בְּלִבֵּינוּ נִסִּיחַ בְּחֻקֵּי רְצוֹנֶיךָ וְנִשְׁמַח
- 11 וְנַעֲלוֹז בְּדִבְרֵי [תִּלְ]מוֹר תּוֹרַתְךָ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד כִּי הֵם
- 12 חַיֵּינוּ וְאוֹרֶךְ יָמֵינוּ וּבָהֶם נַחֲגֶה יוֹמָם וּלְיָלָה
- 13 יְיָ הַקְשִׁיבָה הִגִּיזוֹן בֵּת שׁוֹבְבִים : הַמְדַּבְּרִים
- 14 תַּחֲנוּנִים וּכְעֲנִיִּים נִצָּבִים : וְעַד־ם בְּרַחֲמֶיךָ הָרַבִּים
- 15 אֲשֶׁר עַל כָּל מְרוֹבִים : וּבִסְפָּר חַיִּים יִהְיוּ נִכְתָּבִים :
- 16 זַעַק מְרַבִּים צִמְאִים וְרַעֲבִים : זִדּוֹנָם לְהַעֲבִיר
- 17 מִחוֹת פֶּשַׁעִם כְּעֲבִים : חֵי הוֹשִׁיבִם כִּי עַד־ךָ
- 18 הֵם שָׁבִים : חֲבַת אֱהָבִים תּוֹכוֹר לְאֱהוֹבִים : בְּרוּךְ
- 19 אַתָּה יְיָ אֱהָב עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל : אֲמֵן שְׁמַע :

XLVI. A PAGE FROM A PRAYER-BOOK

A portion of the Yôm Kippūr service.

The copyist has disregarded the verse division indicated by the rime. There are traces of an initial acrostic extending from נ to מ.

- 1 Lord, hearken unto the prayer of Thy people, and unto their supplication, who
- 2 pour out their entreaty, to confess their sins in the gates of Thy mercy,
- 3 watching, all the multitude of them, at the doors of Thy portals, knocking, behold them!
- 4 Lord, forgive their shame, their sin, and their wickedness, the mote of their evil
- 5 judgments, for ever and ever. [They] appeal to Thy favor (?) with the song
- 6 of their music. A generation whose eyes are raised to Thee from the evening unto the evening.
- 7 Blessed art Thou, O Lord, that bringest the evenings!
- 8 [With] a perpetual love hast Thou loved Israel, Thy people. With Law and commandments,
- 9 statutes and judgments, [hast Thou loved] us therefore accordingly, when we lie down
- 10 and when we arise. Also in our hearts.....by the statutes of Thy will, and happy
- 11 and rejoicing in the words of the study of Thy Law, forever and ever. For they
- 12 [are] our life, and the lengthening (?) of our days; and in them we meditate day and night.
- 13 Lord, give ear to the music of the house of wanderers (?), who speak
- 14 prayers, and, like the poor, stand up [before Thee]. Admonish (?) in Thy great mercy,
- 15 which is plentious, over everything. And in the Book of Life let them be written down.
- 16 Often do they cry out, thirsty and hungry, to put aside their wickedness—
- 17 the blotting out of their sins, like clouds. [O] Living [God] bring them back; for unto Thee
- 18 [would] they return. Remember Thou the love of lovers toward [their] beloved [ones]. Blessed [art]
- 19 Thou, Lord, that lovest Thy people, Israel! Amen! Hear!

XLVII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters, small but distinct, like those of Nos. XLI and XLVIII, though not identical with either.

The text is written in several directions, in order that the various post-scripts and afterthoughts may not be confused. Two of these shorter additions are to be inserted into the text, and are here so printed, with asterisks.

The date is Wednesday, 7th of Tammūz; and the 23rd of Rajab, A.H. 460 (May 28, A.D. 1067), is in the immediate past.

Recto : (a)

בהית'

¹ השר והמפסר נשא ומאד נעלה לשם ולתהלה אדוני במהר נב'

² אחרי הקורה מרחוק זאת להודיע לאדון כתבתי בארוכה לאדון כתב עם אלעאמירי

³ מתסאפיר הרבאעה שהלכה בחברת החנם כהר' יעקב בירב יצ' פי ת' עושרין

⁴ רגב סת' וזאת להודיע לאדון כי איני יודע אם מגיעים הכתבים לאדון
⁵ שאומרים שלוכחים אותם מן הרצים וכעת זאת להודיע גם לאדון כעת היום

⁶ יום רביעי ז' לחדש תמוז הגיעה רבאעה כמו קנ' חמל גמאל ואסגאל
⁷ מע' מטה והסוחרים אשר בה מן אלשאם ומן נבלום ומן גזה ויש במ
⁸ סוחר אחד חליבי שמו סי' עלי' ע' אלעזיז אלחליבי והשוואם אשר בה
⁹ א' שמו סי' מחמוד'ן לולו וע' אלרחמן אלשמי וזולתם וחמשה משאיך של יהודים

¹⁰ והשאר כמו שהולך בקאימה הרבאעה בפרטות והגידו לנו הסוחרים
¹¹ שהשיירה החאליבייא בקרוב בעהי' תבוא ולפי שלא מצאו להם ראש כדי

¹ נכתב בצדה.

² Apparently an epistolary formula, meaning "after the greeting." Perhaps קורת הרוח = הקורה.

³ מתסאפיר probably for مَسْفَر "despatcher."

⁴ Arabic עושרין suggests a vernacular form: 'ushrin, unless the ו is transposed from before the ע where there should indeed be a ו. ת' stands for 3 (ثلاثة), not for 400 as in Hebrew.

⁵ I.e. of the Hijrah, which equals May 28th, A.D. 1067. The ת would then stand for 400, nor for 3, as above. סת' might stand for سَنَة, but there would then be no numeral.

⁶ The letters, though plain, yield no sense.

⁷ Arabic.

[illegible]

XLVII. LETTER

A letter from one named Nissīm, in Kaṭyah, Sinai, to a certain Rabbi Solomon Iskanderānī, in Cairo or Fustāt.

It is a rambling and repetitious account of conditions in the small and turbulent caravan station on the Cairo-Damascus highway. There is much about caravans. Robbers infest the way. The Muslims have demolished a synagogue (?) and a private house of the Jews. It is as hot as the nethermost Sheol, and the writer's pen is broken.

Recto: (a)

Blessed be the Name [of God]!

- 1 [To] the Prince, the Dignitary, Exalted and very Eminent, in Name and Reputation, my Lord, his Exalted Honor, the Rabbi [whose name is] written at the side [of this letter]¹!
- 2 After the solace² from afar: This [is] to inform the Gentleman [that] I have written at length to the Gentleman a letter, [sent] from al-ʿĀmirī,
- 3 the mutasaffir³ of the caravan which went [from here] in the company of the wise, the honored Rabbi Jacob, son of Rabbi Is[aac], on the twenty-third⁴ of
- 4 Rajab, 460 [A.H.].⁵ And this is to inform the Gentleman—for I do not know whether the letters reach the Gentleman—
- 5 that [people] say that they take them away from the runners. And now this [is] also to inform the Gentleman, now, today,
- 6 Wednesday, the 7th of Tammūz, of the arrival of a caravan of about 150 camel-loads and.....
- 7⁶. And the merchants who are in it [are] from Damascus⁷, and from Nablus⁷, and from Gaza⁷. And there is in it
- 8 a Ḥalibī⁸ merchant whose name is Sīdī ʿAlī Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥalibī⁸. And the Syrians⁹ who are in it:
- 9 One whose name is Sīdī Maḥmūd Ibn Luʿluʾ, and [another,] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān the Syrian¹⁰, and [a few others] aside [from these], and five sheikhs⁷ of the Jews;
- 10 and the rest [are] individually like what travels in the lists of a caravan. And the merchants told us
- 11 that the caravan¹¹ of Ḥalibīs¹² would soon arrive, with the help of God—His Name be blessed¹³!—And because they have not found for themselves any leader, so

⁸ The context indicates Aleppo, but there appears to be no authority for such a form.

⁹ Modern vernacular Arabic form.

¹⁰ For שָׂמִי, שָׂמִי.

¹¹ Here the Hebrew word שִׁירָה instead of Arabic رِبَاعَة.

¹² حَلَبِيَّة for حَلَبِيَّة, plural of حَلَبِي. Cf. note 8.

¹³ בעזרת השם יתברך.

12 לצאת מדמשק לא נסעו משם ובעה' בקרוב תצא מדמשק השיירה לפי
דיבור

13 הסוחרים ומה שנתעכב שליחות הרץ תכף בעת הגעת הרבאעה הנז' הוא לפי
14 שיש פה סוכראת מצד בניין הפסגה ולא ימצא איש בקטייא שכולם ברחו
15 להם מפחד הסוכראת והנמצאים הם תפוישים בסוכרא[ת] בבניין באופן
שסוחרי

16 דמשק הם כמו לה' משאיך ומן חאלב שוחר אחד שהוא סי' עלי' ע' אלעזיז
17 כמו חמשה משאיך והשאם צבון ולאוו ונבלוסי ואין להאריך כי אם לחלות
ולהתפלל

18 לאלית' ישלה לאדון ברכה עד בלי די אויר בנפשו הרחבה והחכמה
מליאה דעת

19 ויראה ובנפש^פ מוכנים ומזומנים הצעיר נסים

20 נכת במרוצה בקנה רצועה

21 ביום ד' ז' לתמוז

Recto: (b)

1 חזות להודיע לאדון כי לא נמצא ריץ בקטייא להודיע לאדון בשירת זאת
הרבאעה לכן לא

2 שלחנו הרץ לבישר וידוע לאדון כי הכאשף עיכב דמיהם כמו ד' אחמאל
מחלאוייא ומנולאוייה

*ובין כך ובין כך היה ההלכה המחלאוייה והמנולאוייה דרך ים ושש'
3 וצריך למחר לשקול אותם ולידוע כמה יעלו דמיהם וילך אחד ממנו
למנולה ולמחלה

4 לגבות דמיהם ואומר הכאשף שעכף רוצה לעכב המעות פה עד בוא כתב
מן האדון

¹⁴ See No. XXX, line 11, and note 18. About 75 kilometers from al-Šālīḥiyah on the caravan route, in Sinai. The spelling קטייא does not necessarily indicate Qaṭīyah, for the ' is doubled in בניין, in the same line and next.

¹⁵ Cf. note 8.

¹⁶ Mentioned above in line 8. He seems to have made a great impression upon the writer, or else the writer is suffering from the heat. Cf. *recto* (c), line 7.

¹⁷ Cf. line 9. ¹⁸ شَام with the Hebrew article.

¹⁹ لوز.

²⁰ לאל יתברך. Cf. the title above line 1: ברוך חשם יתברך.

12 that [they may] depart from Damascus, they have not journeyed from there; but with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the caravan¹¹ will soon depart from Damascus according to the report
 13 of the merchants. And what prevented sending the runner immediately upon the arrival of the caravan mentioned: [It was] because
 14 there are here labor requisitions on account of building the hill (?), and not a man can be found in Kaṭyah¹⁴; for they have fled
 15 for fear of the labor requisitions. And those who were found were seized in the labor requisitions in building. In the way of merchants
 16 of Damascus, there are about 35 sheikhs. And from Aleppo¹⁵ there is a merchant who is [named] Sidī 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz¹⁶.
 17 [There are] about five sheikhs⁷ [of the Jews]¹⁷! And [from] Syria¹⁸ [they bring] soap and almonds¹⁹. And [the] Nablus [party]—There is no [use] in continuing [this letter], except to supplicate and to pray
 18 to God—His Name be blessed²⁰!—[that] He will send unto the Gentleman a blessing, until no breath is left in his soul²¹, broad, and wise, and full of knowledge,
 19 and fear [of God], and in the soul of [those who are] prepared and summoned. [Signed:] The insignificant Nissīm.
 20 Written in haste, with a broken reed,
 21 on Wednesday, 7th of Tammūz.

Recto: (b)

1 And this is to inform the Gentleman that no runner was found in Kaṭyah to inform the Gentleman about the persons¹¹ of this caravan. Therefore we have not
 2 sent the runner to bring news. And be it known to the Gentleman that the inspector⁷ has held back²² about the equivalent of²³ four loads⁷ of Maḥallah and Manzalah²⁴. *But, however that may be, the Maḥallah and Manzalah way is a sea-way. So farewell²⁵.
 3 And it [will be] necessary tomorrow to weigh them and know what their value is. And one of us will go to Manzalah and to Maḥallah to
 4 collect their value. And the inspector is saying that he is holding²⁶—wishing to hold—the money here until²⁷ the arrival of a letter from the Gentleman [directing him]

²¹ I.e. "until he dies."

²² For עָכַב, עָכַב.

²³ Above the line.

²⁴ There are several Maḥallahs, the most important of which lies at the center of the Delta. Manzalah is perhaps the village on the lake of that name.

²⁵ Obscure, like the preceding passage. This sentence is written on the margin, and its insertion may be intended here. There is a sign before this sentence, but none after מְנוּלֵאוּיָא.

²⁶ For שָׁעַב?

²⁷ Above the line is אֶעֱלֶהוּ, apparently אֶעֱלֶהוּ "I will fix it up."

- 5 לפרוע לו האנות כי אמר שבא לו כתב מן איסמעין שאוש שלא רצה
האדון להעביר שום
- 6 חשבון ממה שעשה חכם בירב יצ' ואמר הכאשף שבשביל האדון יעבוב
המעות פה
- 7 עד בוא כתב האדון ולפי שלא שקל... האחמאל עדיין עד למחר לכן לא
שלח... הקלימה
- 8 בחרת מתסאפ'ר השיירה אחמר שומאן ובעה' חכף עת נשקול האחמאל
נשלח הכל
- * ובאמת זאת הקלמה אשלח בעה' קלימת אלקטויי וכל הדברים בפרטות
9 בפרטי פרטות וצריך אני העבד ללכת בחברת המחלאוייה בעה' עכף' וכה'
יעקב כהן יצו'
- 10 נתעכב ללכת בחברת השיירה זאת בעבור שהרסו הבית ואשתו לברה
בין הגוים ועוד

Recto: (c)

- 1 כי שמענו שבעהי בקרוב נבוא השיירה של החליבייא בעה'
2 שכבר נתקן הדרך וגם אועיד לאדון שהבית של פה קטייא
3 נהרסה כולה והעלילו עלילות שהיתה קרובה לגאמץ וגם
4 שצריך יותר מנ' פרחים כדי לביות אותה לכן אמר
5 הכאשף שיתן לנו מקום אחר לדור בו ובזה
6 תתבטל הזקת הבית שלא ישאר חזקות ולא
7 דברים ואנחנו בתוך חמי חמי שאול התחתון
8 בזה החום של קטייא ושש'

²⁸ The modern colloquial Cairene form of Isma'il. See Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, 2nd ed., p. 27.

²⁹ These forms seem to have הו for ה—.

³⁰ This substance, קלימה, is mentioned three times.

³¹ For אלקטוייה?

³² This sentence is written in the upper left-hand corner of the fragment, and its insertion may be intended here. There is a sign > after הכל, but none before this sentence.

³³ על כל פנים.

³⁴ כבוד הרב.

³⁵ ישמרהו צורו.

³⁶ Quite plainly with prefix נ, as in Syriac.

- 5 to pay him the money. For he said that a letter had come to him from Isma'in²⁸ Shāwīsh [saying] that the Gentleman did not wish to send over any
- 6 reckoning of what Ḥākhām, the son of Rabbi Isaac, had done. And the inspector said that on account of the Gentleman he would hold the money here
- 7 until the arrival of the letter of the Gentleman. And because they had not weighed (?)²⁹ the loads, [and would not do so] till tomorrow, therefore they would not send (?)²⁹ the.....³⁰
- 8 in the company of the mutasaffir³ of the caravan¹¹, Aḥmad Shūmān. But with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—as soon as we weigh the loads, we shall send all—*But truly I shall send this.....³⁰, with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the.....³⁰ of Ḳaṭyah³¹, and everything with special care—³²
- 9 with very special care. And I, the [humble] servant, must go in the company of the Maḥallah [caravan] with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—in any event³³. And the honorable Rabbi³⁴ Jacob Kōhēn—May God keep him³⁵!—
- 10 is prevented³⁶ from going in the company of this caravan, because they have torn down the house, and his wife [would be] alone among gentiles. And furthermore :

Recto : (c)

- 1 Now we have heard that with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—the caravan of the Aleppo¹² [company] will soon arrive³⁶, with the help of God—His Name be blessed!—
- 2 that already the road has been put in order³⁶. And also I inform the Gentleman that the house³⁷ which is here [in] Ḳaṭyah
- 3 has been torn down, all of it ; and [that] they have brought accusations that it was near to a mosque³⁸ ; and also
- 4 that more than 50 perāhīm³⁹ [will be] necessary in order to [re]build it. Therefore
- 5 the inspector has said that he would give us another place in which to live. And in this [way all question as to]
- 6 the confiscation of the house³⁷ will be prevented ; so that there will be no longer [any] confiscations, nor [any]
- 7 troubles⁴⁰. And we are in the midst of the greatest heat of the lowest Sheol,
- 8 in this heat of Ḳaṭyah. So farewell.

³⁷ Here at least the word means "synagogue." Cf. line 10, just above. The expression is intentionally cryptic.

³⁸ Arabic جامع.

³⁹ I.e. "dīnārs"?

⁴⁰ Literally : "words," "affairs."

Recto: (additions)

וכרי שלא יבוא איזה דבר | בהליכתי למחלה לכן הוצרך | כהר אברהם
 פינמו יצ' | להתעכב פה ובעבור זה | לא הלכתי אני למצרים // ושש/
 ועבשו הבית יהיה | של הארון וחזקתו | לארון ושש/
 התני . . עם הרץ | שיגיע למצרים | יום ששי אחר חצות
 והחכם מלכיאֵל נה' | נסע לשלום
 והנה הודעיו הדברים | בפרצות לארון ושש/

Verso:

[ה]שר והמפסר נשא ומאד נעלה לשם ולתהלה אדוני החכם והנבון כמחר
 שלמה אסכנדרני ופגין ליד . . ש ירג" והל'
 מקטייא למצרים

⁴¹ הצורך for הוצרך.

⁴² A very numerous and able Portuguese-Jewish family. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *sub voce*.

Recto: (additions)

And, in order that nothing may happen | while I am going to Maḥallah,
it is necessary⁴¹ | that Rabbi Abraham Pinto⁴²—May God keep him³⁵!— |
should be kept here. And on account of this | I have not gone to Cairo.
So farewell.

And now the house shall belong | to the Gentleman, and the possession
[shall be] | the Gentleman's. So farewell.

I (?) have stipulated⁴³ with the runner | that he shall reach Cairo |
Friday, after midnight.

And the wise Malkī'el (?), pure soul⁴⁴, has gone to his [everlasting] peace.
So farewell.

And behold I have made known⁴⁵ the matters | in detail to the Gentle-
man. So farewell.

Verso:

[To the Pr]ince, the Dignitary, Exalted and very Eminent, in Name
and Reputation, my Lord, the Wise and Intelligent, his Exalted Honor,
Rabbi Solomon Iskandarānī.....

From Kaṭyah to Cairo.

⁴³ ההנתי.

⁴⁴ נשמה טהורה.

⁴⁵ הודעתיו.

XLVIII. LETTER

Paper $8\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The first marginal addition is in the same hand as that of the body of the letter, and merely continues the same. The second, in a different hand, protests against the unwarranted presumption of the letter. The third, in an extremely difficult cursive hand, and in Arabic, unintelligible save for a word or two, closes with the signature אברהם קאסטרו, "Abraham Castro." This is therefore the writer's own language and script, the body of the letter having been composed and penned by a scribe. In two other places there are brief combinations of letters, the purpose of which is not apparent.

Unfortunately there is no date.

- 1 השר הנעלה לשם ותהלה גבירנו כהרב שלמה נ'י
- 2 מאלהא רבא שלמא כולא אדון השלם ישפת שלם לכם ולנו אמן
- 3 להיות מחק השלמים לרדוף השלם נכפל בספרי הנביאים ע"ה דבר השלם
- 4 ושבתנהו שבח לאין תכלית ואם חוייביו לרדוף השלם עם כל האדם
- 5 כש שיחוייב בקשתו ורדיפתו עם אותם אשר קבלו . . . בשום זמן
- 6 או באיזו אופן תועלת קטנה [או גרו] לה כאשר היה זה בפנינו עם האדון¹
- 7 נבון ונעלה מתקפי ארעא דיש' כור' יצחק קאזיגי יר' אשר ידע רק טוב
- 8 לבבו בכל עת וזמן ומה גם נמצא בצרות ובעת מצר² והאדון לא כגמול
- 9 השיב בכל הדברים אם בהיותו נחויץ בלקיחת מעותיו אשר היו ביד האדון
- 10 כדי לשוב לדרכו ובהיותו מתחמה נתגלגל לו נזק רב באותם
- 11 התאנים הרעות אשר ראה³ ה' בהיותו פה ועוד שנית הרצה דברים
- 12 פה אל פה ועל יד אחובים להחזיק בו כל ימוט באיזו שירות או

¹ נרו יאיר.

² Aramaic.

³ Cf. Isaiah xxvi, 12.

⁴ Cf. Isaiah lvii, 19.

⁵ עליהם השלום.

⁶ חזקיו?

⁷ כל שכן.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a religious or historical document, showing signs of wear and damage.

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a manuscript or letter. The handwriting is cursive and fills most of the page area.]

XLVIII. LETTER

A wheedling, reproachful, almost threatening letter from one, Abraham Castro, in Jerusalem (?), to an eminent and powerful man named Solomon, in Fustāt (?), asking him by employment or credit to aid a certain Isaac Ẹajijī, who seems to have become estranged from Solomon and then to have fallen upon evil days. Merchandise given Isaac from the common stock in Fustāt (?) is to be paid for later by gifts to the treasury in Jerusalem (?).

The chronicler Sambari (ed. Neubauer, vol. i, p. 145) mentions an Abraham Castro in connection with a Benjamin (not Isaac) Ẹajijī; and Solomon Hazzān (*Sēfer ha-Ma'alōth li-Shemōth*, page 12) as having in his possession a document of A.D. 1606, signed by Abraham Castro, Benjamin Ẹajijī and others.

- 1 [To] the Prince, Eminent in Name and Reputation, our Master, his Exalted Honor, Solomon—May his light shine!¹
- 2 From the Great God [cometh] all peace². The Lord of Peace grant peace to you and to us³! Amen.
- 3 Inasmuch as it is the custom of peaceful men to pursue peace—The word “peace” occurs twice in succession in the books of the Prophets⁴, upon whom be peace⁵!—
- 4 and [inasmuch as] we praise [peaceful men] with boundless praise, and if it is one's duty⁶ to pursue peace with all mankind,
- 5 how much more⁷ do the quest and pursuit of it become the duty of such as have received.....at any time
- 6 or in any way a favor, great or small, such as we have observed to occur in the case of the intelligent
- 7 and eminent gentleman, [one] of the influential men of Palestine², the honorable Rabbi⁸ Isaac Ẹajijī—May he be acceptable!—the goodness of whose heart
- 8 at all times and seasons is known, and also how he found himself [involved] in troubles and in a period of difficulty. Now my Lord⁹ has not required
- 9 good in all matters: whether because [Rabbi Isaac] was hasty in demanding his money, which was in the hands of my Lord,
- 10 in order to make his return journey—Indeed, because he was delayed [by you], he became involved in a great loss in connection with those
- 11 bad figs which my Lord (?) saw when he was here—[or for some other reason]. But in the second place, [Rabbi Isaac] made an appeal [to you, both]
- 12 in direct conversation and through the mediation of friends, to encourage him not to waver. [He asked you] by any sort of employment or

⁸ כבוד הרב?

⁹ I.e. “you.”

- 13 ספרות כי ישיב טרף ביתו כאחד מקרוביו או אוהבי שמו[?] והת'
 14 לא נטה און לדבריו והוא כאשר הפסיד מה שהפסיד ומיעוט
 15 הריוח בזמן הרע הזה והוצאות הבתים והבנות נתמוטט ומטה ידו
 16 ובחר לחזור אל האדון כמשפט הראשון להיותו אהוב נאמן ובקש
 17 דברי אוהבים ישחרו פניך אדון על הדבר הזה לקרבו ולהועיל בכל
 18 אשר ירומון עיני חכמתו כי לא יחסר כל בו לכן אני כאחד מהם...ם
 19 אל משמעתו מפיל תחנה ומיעץ בלב שלם יראה סדר נכון להועילו
 20 בכל אופני התועלת אם כמיות אותו באיזה שירות ימצא מנוח לנפשו
 21 ואם כתת לו מיד ה' מהאוצר איזו סחורה בעין יפה ימכרנה פה
 22 וירויח קצת ממה שהפסיד ואף שיתננה לו בהקפה תהיה בזול והוא
 23 יתן רמיה פה לצורך הכֹּזֶנָה ואל יחוש לדבר כי משאו ומתנו תמיד
 24 ממונה ומה גם ממון המלך אבל הנרצה מאת ה' הוא שיתן בעין
 25 יפה מידו בלי ידיים שניות ויהיה קרוב למעות ולריוח סוף כל
 26 סוף יצדד כל אופני האפשר להיותו כי כזה יקנה אותו במתן שפתיו
 27 לאוהב ומשרת לעולמי עד ואל ירבו בעיניך אלה אוהבים ואל ימעט
 28 בעיניך שונא אחד האדון חכם ויודע תכלית הדברים ואופן קירוב
 29 ההנאה ואיך ינהו באופן שיהיה נושא דגל תהלתו בימי עולם

Margin: (a)

- 1 ואל יתכוין להקניטו חו כי נפשו מרה לו למיעוט הריוח ויוקר המזונות
 והפרנסה ואין אדם נתפס על צערו והארכתו בדבר

¹⁰ Cf. Leviticus xxv, 35.

¹¹ The second and third persons are used interchangeably.

¹² Arabic.

13 literary work to restore the support of his house, as one of [my Lord's]
 relatives and admirers. But my Lord (?)
 14 did not give ear to his words. Then he, [Rabbi Isaac,] when he had lost
 what he lost—the small
 15 profits of those evil times, and the expenses of the houses and the
 daughters [being what they were]—collapsed, and his hand wavered¹⁰,
 16 and he chose to return to my Lord as originally planned, to be [his]
 beloved and trusted [friend]. And he sought to employ
 17 the conversations of friends, [that] they might address themselves to
 you¹¹, Sir, concerning this matter, in order that he might approach
 [you] and that [you] might aid him in every thing
 18 which the eyes of [my Lord's]¹¹ wisdom might indicate; for there is no
 lack [of ability] at all in him. Therefore I, as one of those.....
 19 to [my Lord's] subjects, make supplication and give counsel with a
 perfect heart. May [my Lord] see some proper arrangement for helping
 him
 20 by every sort of usefulness, whether.....him in some sort of employ-
 ment by which he may find rest for his soul,
 21 or else giving him, by the hand of my Lord (?), from the common stock,
 some sort of merchandise, in a kindly spirit, which he may sell here
 22 and [thereby] gain a little of what he has lost. And even though [my
 Lord] gives it to him on credit, the price must be low. And he
 23 will deliver its equivalent here toward the needs of the treasury¹². And
 let [my Lord] not fear anything; for his business at all times brings in
 24 money, and royal money too¹³. But the thing that is desired of my
 Lord (?) is that he give in a kindly
 25 spirit by his own hand, without [the mediation of] other hands, and
 [thus] be close to [both] capital and profits. In
 26 short, let [my Lord] be everything possible [to him], for thus he will
 gain him, by gentle speech,
 27 as a friend and servant for ever and ever. And let not a thousand
 friends be many in your eyes; nor let one
 28 enemy be a small thing in your eyes. My Lord is wise, and knows the
 purpose of things, and the manner of advantageous
 29 approach, and how he may benefit [this man] in such a way that he will
 become a bearer of the flag of his praise for all eternity.

Margin: (a)

1 And let [my Lord] not seek to affront him—God forbid!—for his soul
 is bitter by reason of the smallness of [his] profit and the costliness
 of food and maintenance; and no man is to be blamed for his suffering.
 Now I have dilated upon this matter

¹³ From תמיד on, very uncertain.

- 2 כִּי כֹנֵן תִּמִּיד לְרֹדֶף טוֹבָתוֹ גְּלוּי וִידוּעַ לִפְנֵי יְיָ וְאִם נִסְתָּר הוּא מִנְּגִד
עֵינָיו נֹא יִפְקְדֵנוּ בְּשֵׁלֶם הַחֵכֶם הַשֵּׁלֶם מִרְ חַתְנוֹ נִי'
3 גַּם דְּבָרֵי אֱלֹהִים יִרְצוּ וִירָאוּ לִפְנֵי וְעֲלִימוֹ תִטּוֹף מִלְּתִי וְאַתָּה גִבִּיר עַל רֹב
שֵׁלֶם תִּתְעַנֵּג מֵאֵת [יִי] אֲשֶׁלָּה עַל מִי מְנוּחֹת
4 יִנְחֶהוּ בַּמַּעֲגָלָת צֶדֶק בִּנְפִשׁוֹ יִפֶּה בְּרָה וְנִפְשׁ נֶאֱמָן בְּבֵרִית [וְהָ] עֶבֶד הַצֵּעִיר
אַבְרָהָם קִסְטָר [ו]

Margin : (b)

- 1 מִי [י] רַב לְבוֹ לְהוֹצִאות דְּבָרִים אַחֵר
2 אֲשֶׁר אֲדוֹנָנוּ הַחֵכֶם מַעֲלָם לֹא הִנִּיחַ [דְּבָרִי]
3 גְּדוֹל וְקִמּוֹן וְדִבְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִי [ש] בְּאוֹתוֹ מִ... הָ
4 וְלִמְעַן תִּלְךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ טוֹבִים וְאוֹרֶחוֹת צְדִיקִים ת[ש] מוֹר
5 וּבִכֵּן יִעֲנֵךְ אֵ בְיוֹם צָרָה חוֹי יִשְׁלַח עֲזָרוֹ מִקּוֹדֶשׁ בְּשׁוֹפ...
6 בְּרִכּוֹת בִּנְפִשׁ הַצֵּעִיר טוֹב...
אֲמֵן

7

¹⁴ Or "son-in-law."

¹⁵ Job xxix, 22.

¹⁶ Psalm xxiii, 2.

¹⁷ Psalm xxiii, 3.

¹⁸ The adjectives are uncertain, and ought in any case to have the article.

- ² because my purpose to further his welfare at all times is evident and well known to [God]—Blessed be He! But if [my purpose seems to be] hidden from his eyes, then, I pray, let his father-in-law¹⁴—May his light shine¹⁵!—the wise and peaceful, visit [Rabbi Isaac] in peace.
- ³ And furthermore, may these my words be acceptable, and may they receive his attention: “And my speech distilled upon them¹⁵.” But [as for] you, Master: May you enjoy an abundance of peace. From [the Lord] I ask it “beside the still waters¹⁶.”
- ⁴ May He guide him “in the paths of righteousness¹⁷” because of his beautiful, pure soul¹⁸, the soul of one faithful in his covenant¹⁹.
[Signed:] The insignificant slave, Abraham Castro.

Margin: (b)

- ¹ Who dares²⁰ to utter words [of reproach], seeing
- ² that our wise Master from time out of mind has never neglected any matter,
- ³ great or small. And his words are just to those whom.....
- ⁴ “That thou mayest walk in the way of good men, and keep the paths of the righteous²¹.”
- ⁵ And thus may “the Lord answer thee in the day of trouble²²”Send His help from the Sanctuary²³.
- ⁶ Blessings by(?) the soul of the insignificant.....
- ⁷ Amen!

¹⁹ Psalm lxxviii, 37.

²⁰ For יִרְכָּה?

²¹ Proverbs ii, 20.

²² Psalm xx, 2.

²³ Psalm xx, 3.

XLIX. LETTER FROM A LADY

Paper $8 \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Hebrew in semi-cursive Hebrew characters, very regular and beautiful, but badly faded. The text could be read, however, in an especially prepared photograph, the work of Mr George R. Swain, Technical Expert in Photography at the University. It was doubtless written by a professional scribe.

Recto :

בה

¹ יושב בשבת תחכמוני הוא עוזנו העצם החכם השלם ריש מתיבתא וריש

² מתה כמהר אברהם סכנדרני נ"י

³ עם פקודת משמרת החיים והשלום יפקד ויזכר בבני חיי ומוזוני עם כל

⁴ בני חבורתו הקדושה ל... לרותים... להודיעו ממצבי הרע המר והנמחר

⁵ וממולי הקשה שאחר שירדתי בשברי שברון מכל עבר ופנה וחשבתי

⁶ אולי עברו ימי הרעה ואמר השי' די לצרותי ושדכתי בני עם בת טובים

⁷ ונהפך מחולי לאבלי כי באו לי גנבים בלילה ושדרו אותי וברוך ה' שגזר

⁸ עלי גם בזאת למעום טעם עוני אני ובני ערומים רעבים גם צמאים

⁹ ויען היותי משוש לכל הארץ עתה אני חרפה לכל שכני ורואי ועל הכל

¹⁰ יהי שם ק' מבורך שהיצלני ולבני מחרבם כי כל אשר לאיש יתן בעד

¹¹ נפשו ומענין זקנתך ת"ל כגדר הבריאות וגם בה פנעה מכתני כי שללו

¹² מלבושיה עתה אין חדש כי אם לחלות פניו שיפקח עלי עין השגחתו

¹³ אולי יציל לי דבר מה מאחיו אבא כי שעתא דחוקה לי מאד והייתי

¹⁴ שחוק לכל עמי ומענין התלמיד ישראל מנשק ידי האדון והוא מעורר

¹ II Samuel xxiii, 8.

² Aramaic forms.

³ השם יתברך.

⁴ For הצילני.

⁵ I.e. "you."

XLIX. LETTER FROM A LADY

A letter addressed to a certain Rabbi Abraham Skandarānī, "The Alexandrian," by his aunt, an unnamed lady who has fallen upon evil days and desires his assistance.

Many Old Testament phrases are interwoven, in the manner of one who reads the Scriptures much, and has no style of his own ; but, as this is unconscious, the references have not always been given in our notes.

Recto :

Blessed be the Name [of God]!

- ¹ [To him] who sits in the seat of Taḥkemōnī¹, him, our Refuge, Mighty, Wise, Perfect, Head of the Academy, and Head of
- ² the city (?) the Exalted Honor of the Rabbi Abraham Skandarānī, Light of Israel.
- ³ With the granting of preservation of life and peace let him be cared for, and let him be remembered among the sons of life² and sustenance², together with all
- ⁴ the people of his holy company.....to inform him of the doings of that evil, bitter and hasty man,
- ⁵ and of my cruel fate which, after I had descended into the lowest depths of destruction [which assailed me] from every side and quarter, and had imagined [that]
- ⁶ perhaps the days of evil had passed, and had said : "The Name [of God] be praised³! Enough of my sufferings! I have betrothed my son to a maiden of beauty!"—
- ⁷ my dancing was changed to (my) lamentation. For thieves entered my [house] by night and robbed me. But blessed [be] the Name [of God], who decreed
- ⁸ for me also this, to taste the flavor of my sin. I and my son are naked, hungry—and thirsty.
- ⁹ And instead of (?) being a delight unto all the earth, now I [am] an [object of] shame to all my neighbors and those who see me. But in spite of it all,
- ¹⁰ may the Holy Name [of God] be blessed, who delivered me⁴ and my son from their sword ; for all that a man hath will he give for
- ¹¹ his life. And as regards your grandmother.....according to the definition of healthy women ; but her also did my misfortune strike. For they carried off
- ¹² her clothing. At present there is nothing new [to ask], except to pray his⁵ presence that he will open upon me the eye of his⁵ oversight.
- ¹³ Perhaps he⁵ will save for me something from his⁵ brethren, Sir, for it is to me an hour² of great need. And I have become
- ¹⁴ dust unto all my people. And as regards the pupil, Israel, he kisses the hands of the Gentleman⁵, and he is still (?)

- 15 לומד עם החכם כ"הר יצחק צבאח יען כי אצלו ל[ו]מדים תלמידי⁶
 16 הישיבה ולא עם זולתו ולא ראיתי טובה משום אדם כי אם ממנו
 17 עם היות שעברו דברי ריבות ביני לבינו על אודות בנות בעלי
 18 בשדוכין אחר שהפסדתי יותר משלושים גרו'⁷
 19 בשדוכין בזמן שלחתי וקצרה ידי מלהשלים הקם מהר הבתולה
 20 וגם זו לטובה ושלום מאת המרה ונאנחה שכולה וגלמודה המצוק[ה]
 21 לחתום בדמעות שלישי סת דודתך /

Margin:

..... טו למבת

Verso:

מ... תובבי⁸

יוצל ליד אוצר בלוט תגא דאורייתא ודרבין חת' הש' נמהר אברהם סנדרני

.....

⁶ כבוד הרב.

⁷ גרו' contains the name of some coin. One thinks of **قروش**, plural of **قرش**, the modern "piastre." But 30 piastres is too small a sum (about \$1.50) to complain of losing. Also, the word is supposed to have been borrowed from Germany or Austria (*groschen*) in comparatively recent times.

⁸ הקם.

15 studying with the learned Rabbi Isaac⁶ Ṣabāḥ, because with him there
are studying pupils of
16 the Academy, and not with any other. And I have not experienced a
kindness from any one but him;
17 although, to be sure, words of strife have passed between him and me
concerning the daughters of my husband
18the betrothal after I had lost more than thirty.....⁷
19 in the betrothal at the time when I sent [you word of it?]. And I am
unable to finish putting up⁸ the dowry of the maiden.
20 But this also [must be] for the best. Greetings from the bitter and
sighing, bereft and lonely woman, who is forced
21 to sign [this letter] with tears in large measure: the Lady⁹, your Aunt.

Margin :

.....15th of Ṭēbhēth.

Verso :

.....

May it reach the hand of the Most Eminent¹⁰ Oak¹¹, Crown of the Law
and the Rabbis¹², the Pious, the.....Exalted Honor of the Rabbi⁹ Abraham
Skandarānī¹³.

⁹ Vernacular Arabic, *sitt*, for classical سَيِّدَة .

¹⁰ These words in Arabic.

¹¹ Hebrew.

¹² These words in Aramaic.

¹³ החסיד... כבוד מעלת הרב.

L. THREE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT

Paper $45\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Hebrew in cursive Hebrew characters.

The three letters which the fragment contains are all in the same hand, and were doubtless written down by the same professional scribe. The first fills one hundred lines, of which lines 1-34 and 41-53 are rimed, the rimes being indicated by short diagonal strokes. The second letter occupies twenty-five lines, and the third letter forty-four lines.

Many biblical phrases are introduced, paraphrased, or hinted at. Not all have been indicated in the notes, for the reference is often remote.

The paper bears a watermark of the familiar hand-and-star variety, employed by many manufacturers, in France, Switzerland, and Sicily, between A.D. 1490 and 1590. See Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, 1907. If the Moses mentioned is indeed Moses di Trani, our fragment may be accurately dated toward the close of his incumbency at Safed, 1525-1535 (note 72), and may even have had something to do with his apparent removal. He did not die till 1585, fifty years later.

1 וה . . .

2 שלשה ימים " וג "

3 על בניו והקִבָּה מזמין להם . . . ק עד שיג

4 עם היותי סובל צערי " ולא אחוס על עצמי כאכזרי " ועם כ

5 אדם לי מצירים " ועלי מכתירים " והגיע הויקם גם לחבירים " שעמי

6 קורים " לבלתי היותם נסטרים " מארנוניות ושאר דברים " כשאר

7 הלומדים תורה אצל אחרים " ואפילו להקל מעליהם ויחלו מעט

8 ממשא מלך שרים " ועמדתי בקהל ואמרתי למה לא תתנהגו עם

9 חבירי כהלכה בדרך שאתם מתנהגים עם האחרים " והשיבו

10 שאדונינו הנגיד פטר תלמידי ר' משה " ואם מתלמידיו ותלמידך

11 לא נקבל אין לנו ממי נקבל " ומעמיסים עליהם עומם אחירים "

12 אם מאת אדוני היה הדבר הזה " לחזק השמן ולרדוף הרוח " עלינו

13 לשביח וגזירתך נקבל " וחלילה וחס שבסא כבודך תנבל " וצאן

14 מרעיתך תחבל " ואספר קצת ממנהג כבוד הדיין הנזכר עמי .

¹ הקדוש ברוך שמו.

³ ארנונות ?

² נסתרים.

⁴ Hosea viii, 10.

[illegible]

L. THREE LETTERS OF COMPLAINT

These three letters complain of the conduct of a certain Rabbi Moses, the dayyān of Safed in Galilee. If we are to believe the writers, he was a rather unusually vainglorious, selfish and unscrupulous person, guilty of many acts of tyranny, misappropriation and corruption, and responsible for the perennial Safed Meat Scandal.

It is difficult to recognise in this Moses, the Moses di Trani who was Rabbi of Safed from 1525 to 1535. But our Moses was the immediate successor of a certain Joseph Sarakossī (or Saragossī), as we learn from line 157; and Moses di Trani was a successor, possibly an immediate successor, of the Joseph Saragossī who organised the community of Safed in 1492; and the identification is thus not unlikely.

The addressee of the letter is an unnamed Egyptian nāgīd, at Fustāt(?). The beginning of the fragment, which might have revealed his identity, is unfortunately missing. The writers are all people at Safed, whose names are duly signed. Many interesting names appear.

- 1
 2 three days, and.....
 3 over his sons. And the Holy One—Blessed be the Name¹!—was inviting them.....
 4 while I bore my affliction, and did not spare myself, cruel that I was, and while.....
 5 men were hemming me in and surrounding me, the injury [which] they [were doing] extended even to the scholars who with me
 6 [were] reading, without their being protected² from taxes³ and other things, as [are] the rest of
 7 those who study the Law, with other [teachers], if only [to the extent of] lightening their [obligations] and relieving them a little
 8 from “the burden of the King of Princes⁴.” And I stood in the congregation and said: “Why do you not behave toward
 9 my friends properly, as you behave towards the others?” and they replied:
 10 “Our Master, the Nāgīd, has exempted the pupils of Rabbi Moses; and if we do not receive [taxes] from
 11 his pupils nor [from] your pupils⁵, we have no [people] from whom we may receive [taxes]. We are [thus merely] placing upon [your friends] the burden of others.
 12 If this matter proceeds from our Master, to strengthen the fat and drive out the lean, it is our duty
 13 to applaud; and we shall accept your decision. God forbid that the throne of your Honor should be outraged, and the sheep
 14 of your pasture injured.” And I shall recount something of the manner of his Honor, the dayyān, [above] mentioned, [in dealing] with me.

⁵ For תלמידך “pupils”?

- 15 כי הוא מצר לי בשבתי וקומי "מחשיב כל אדם נגדו כאין" ותופס
- 16 מעשה קין "להיותו בתבל לברו" כאלו אין בלעדיו "והכל כאין נגדו"
- 17 ובפני עמי הארץ אומר מזולתו קלונים "ומעביר רינונים" ואומר
- 18 בגאונו "ומתפאר בלשונו" מי כמוני מורה ' ואשר דבר פי ימרה "
- 19 ראוי לדונו בזקן ממרא "מטיל מים בקרשים" שופך בוז על אנשים "
- 20 מנבל היקרים "חולש על גברים" לאמר מי זה לפני קרנו ירים "
- 21 אותו באף אחרים "ובעברתי אשפענו באש כדורים" אומר
- 22 עצתי תקום וכל חפצי אעשה "ומי הוא שלפני פיו יפצה" ובכל
- 23 חגבירים "יד מרים" להתכבד בקלון חבירים "וכל עובר על
- 24 גזירתו מיד אותו יחרים" וכרצונו יעשה "להתגדל ולהתנשא"
- 25 ואם יאמרו בני אדם לחביריו ודעיו מדוע ככה יעשה "ישיבו
- 26 על ככה" יש בידו לעשות אף שלא כהלכה "שכיון שנתמנה
- 27 ונעשה ראש" מתנשא הוא לכל לראש "ולאשר יחפוץ ישקה
- 28 מי תירוש" ולאשר יקצוף לענה ורוש" אוי לדור שזה פרנסו "ישליך
- 29 עליו חמסו" ואם שלימים וכן רבים יגנו מעשהו "יליצו עליו חביריו
- 30 ומרעהו" הניחו לו כי מנהגו מנהג יהוא "ואין על המשוגע אשמה"
- 31 אף כי יעשה בצדייה וערמה "הנה יצא בארץ שמעו" וניכר
- 32 לעולם טבעו "זה יגיד עליו ריעו" על צק ההתנצלות "להמיר ענוה
- 33 בסכלות" כמה אהנייא ליה שטותיה דדין "בעלמא הדין" ועל
- 34 זה נתחללה התורה "וירד לארץ כתרה" ושבתי יקרה "והנה כז'
- 35 ישמעאל בא מרמשק והוא היה דיין ביניהם ומשמיע ברבים

⁶ בלעדיו.

⁷ A scholar who refuses to conform to the majority opinion.

⁸ Isaiah xli, 10.

⁹ For יודעיו.

15 He has oppressed me in my downsitting and my uprising, reckoning as
 nothing every man opposed to him, having recourse to
 16 the deed of Cain in order to be the only one in the world, as if there
 were no one beside him⁶, and everything [were] as nothing before him.
 17 And before the common people he says shameful things about [everyone]
 but himself, uttering slanders and speaking
 18 in his pride, and boasting with his tongue: "Who [is there that] teaches
 like me?" and "He who rebels against the word of my mouth
 19 shall be treated as a disobedient elder⁷." He voids water upon holy
 things, pours contempt upon men,
 20 outrages the honorable, brings weakness upon strong men, saying:
 "Whosoever shall exalt his horn before me,
 21 him in anger shall I outlaw, and in my wrath overwhelm with the fire of
 battle." He says:
 22 "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure⁸," and "Who is
 he that will dare open his mouth in my presence?" And against all
 23 the leading men he raises his hand, that he may gain honor for himself
 by the shame of [his] associates. And everyone who transgresses
 24 his decisions he forthwith outlaws; and he does as he pleases, that he
 may magnify and exalt himself.
 25 And if people say to his companions and those that know him⁹: "Why
 does he do this?" they reply
 26 thus: "He has the power to do even what is contrary to legal custom;
 for as soon as he was appointed
 27 and made Head [of the Academy], he exalted himself to [the dignity of
 being] Head of All. And to him whom he desired, he gave to drink
 28 the waters of new wine; but to him against whom he was angry, [he
 gave] wormwood and poison. Woe unto the generation which has
 this for a leader! [A man] who casts
 29 his injustice in its face. And although sound men—and there are many
 such—defend his doings, [nevertheless] his companions and his flock
 make sport
 30 of him. They let him [do] according to his custom, the custom of Jehu.
 There is no blame for the madman,
 31 even though he works with design and cunning. Truly, his report has
 gone forth in the land, and his character
 32 is recognised¹⁰ for all time. This is what his friend says of him, about
 the difficulty of his justifying himself: for [him] to turn humility
 33 into folly. How has the folly of this [man] profited him in this world¹¹?
 And because of
 34 this the Law has been desecrated, and its crown brought down to earth,
 and its honor has ceased. Behold, the honorable Rabbi
 35 Ishmael came from Damascus. He had been dayyān among them [there].
 And he had published abroad

¹⁰ For וינכר.

¹¹ This sentence is in Aramaic.

- 36 רברי תורה ופרר על עצמו לבוא לדור בארץ ישראל ודרש ברבים
 37 פעם ושתים ומקנאתו ממנו התקין ששום אדם לא ידרוש ברבים
 38 עד שיפייסנו ויתן לו רשות תחילה וזו היתה בעלילה כדי שלא יקרא
 39 בין העולם כי אם שמו לבדו וחזר והחרים על כל השומיע ממנו
 40 דרש או מאחרים וכאלה רבות לא נשמעו "עד שישבו עמי הארץ
 41 בעיני עצמם חסידים" על שלא למדו תורת היהודים "ותחת
 42 שהיו בני תורה כאבני נזר מתנוססים" נחשבו עכשיו כאבן
 43 מעמסות "וכטיט חוצות" לחרפות ולקלסות "אם זונות זו את זו
 44 מפרכסות" תלמידי חכמים לא כל שכן "ומה יעשה אחרי כן"
 45 איש כמוני מסכן "ובאמת אענ' דהאי גברא דחק לי טובה"
 46 לא היה רצוני להביא דיבה "ולא לרדוף עד חובה" אמנם הכריחני
 47 לזה זכירת הסיבה "שבגללה הושתה איבה" ומרוב תלאה
 48 ומגינה "לעוצם שיחי וכעסי דיברתי עד הנה" וכי יבוזו לאיש
 49 דברו "אין אדם נתפש על צערו" אף אם אין שלום בעירו "צערו
 50 לרבים יגיד" ולנשיא עמו ונגיד "ואיני מן הרודפים אחריו"
 51 לחפש בעד מעשיו ודבריו "והרבה בני אדם באים אלי לקבול
 52 לפני על עסקיו עמהם ודיניו ובאמת שאני גוער בהם" ואיני
 53 מטה אזני לשמוע לאחר מהם "וזה שנתים ושלשה חדשים
 54 בחג הסוכות שעשיתי הסכמה עם כל הלומדים לפני ששום
 55 אחד מהם לא יאמר לי כך וכך עשה בין לטוב^{כח משה} בין למוטב
 56 והיה זה בשבועה חמורה ובגזירת התורה להרחיק ממני
 57 ומליבי כל דופי ואון זה הכלל שאני עוסק בצערי וברוב העתים
 58 איני נכנס לבית הכנסת אלא בשבת מרוב יסורין וחלאים ולא

12 Zechariah ix, 16.

14 Micah vii, 10.

16 אף על גב ד.

17 This clause is in Aramaic.

18 Cf. Genesis iii, 15.

19 Talmud, *Baba Bathra*, 16b, where however we have "in the hour of his suffering":

שאין אדם נתפש בשעת צערו.

13 Zechariah xii, 3. But here correct to אבנים.

15 Talmud, *Shabbath*, 34a.

36 [certain] words of the Law, and taken upon himself a vow to go and live
 in Palestine. And he preached publicly
 37 once or twice. And, because [Rabbi Moses] was jealous of him, he com-
 manded that no man should preach publicly
 38 until he had made peace with him, and he had given him permission
 beforehand. And this was done in order that his name
 39 only should be noised abroad. And he next outlawed every one who
 listened to instruction from him
 40 or from others; and many things like these, [such as] were never heard
 of [before]; until the common people came to be
 41 saints in their own eyes, without learning the Law of the Jews; and,
 instead of
 42 the Sons of the Law being as stones of a crown lifted on high¹², now they
 are reckoned as burdensome
 43 stones¹³, and as mire of the streets¹⁴, [fit only] for shame and derision.
 If harlots paint each other's
 44 faces, should not the pupils of wise men [show] even more [mutual help-
 fulness¹⁵]? And after [all] this what is a poor man
 45 like me to do? And truly, even though¹⁶ this man has deprived me of
 good¹⁷(?),
 46 I have not wished [of myself] to bring gossip, nor to pursue [him] to
 [the point of] accusation. Verily I was compelled
 47 to [do] this by the memory of the cause by which enmity was established¹⁸.
 Because of much vexation
 48 and sorrow I have spoken thus far in my strongest language and in my
 anger. But if people despise a man [for]
 49 his speech, [let them remember that] no man is called to account for his
 suffering¹⁹. Even if there be no peace in his city, his suffering
 50 to the multitude he makes known: even unto the prince and leader of
 his people. I am not a persecutor of him,
 51 to search out his doings and sayings. Many people come to me to
 complain
 52 to me about his dealings with them and his judgments. But truly I
 rebuke them and I do not
 53 lend my ear to hearing one of them. Only two or three months [ago]
 54 at the Feast of Tabernacles, I made an agreement with all those who
 were studying under me, that not
 55 one of them should say: "The honorable Rabbi Moses²⁰ has done thus
 and so," however good [his intentions].
 56 And this occurred in an important week and [at a time] when the Law
 commands [me] to put away from myself
 57 and from my heart every blemish and sin. This [was] the rule which I
 practised in my suffering. And for the most part
 58 I did not go to the synagogue except upon the Sabbath Day, by reason
 of [my] ailments and disorders; nor

²⁰ Evidently the name of the accused. It is written between lines. Cf. line 64.

- 59 אצא לשוק אלא על כרחי בערב שבת " וזה מכמה ימים שהלך
- 60 כִּרְ שמואל בן יוחאי לחלב ולכל אותם הגלילות לקבץ מעות ללומדי
- 61 תורה והיה לשם ר' אברהם מערבי נושא בתי ואמר לו עמוד עמי
- 62 ותשתדל שיתנו לי בשביל חמיך אסכנדראני ובשביל שאר בני
- 63 תורה וסיפר לי ר' אברהם שעמד ונשתדל כפי כוחו וכשבא ר' שמואל
- 64 הנזכר עם המעות שקיבץ מהקהילות הכל לקח כִּרְ משה דיין ובאמת
- 65 שלא הגיע לי אפילו פרוטה אחת ובפנים הזאת הלך כִּרְ שמואל הנזכר
- 66 לארץ תוגרמה וקיבץ מה שקיבץ וכשהגיע לחלב שלח לפקוד
- 67 בשלומינו ומה שבא בידו הכל לכִּרְ משה ולעלם לא רדפתי אחר אלו
- 68 אלו הדברים ולא קיבלתי משלאחרים מלבד מה ששלחו אלי קרובי
- 69 כִּרְ יוסף אסכנדרני ואחיו יִצְו כי הם גמלוני טובות רבות הטיבה יי
- 70 לטובים " ולעולם לא נכנס לידי משלאחרים ופעם אחת אשה אחת
- 71 היתה חולה והיה הרופא כִּרְ יוסף המצרי זל שנקרא עפִיף בן עזרא
- 72 יוצא ובא אצלה כמנהג הרופאים וכשהרגישה בעצמה שהיא
- 73 נפטרת לבית עולמה שלחה לקרות לי ביד הרופא הנזכר ולא הלכתי אצלה
- 74 לפי שידעתי שרוצה ליתן בידי מעות מעזבונה כי לא היה לה יורש
- 75 ואני לא רציתי ללכת אצלה ובא כִּרְ יוסף הרופא הנזכר אלי ואמר לי דע
- 76 שהיא נוטה למות וכל מה שיש בידה לוקחים הגוים ואתה נשבעת
- 77 שלא יכנס לידך שום דבר מזה תן לנו עצה מה נעשה והביא מה
- 78 ששלחה האשה אלי בידו כי אמרה לו איני חפוצה שיהיה אלו המעות
- 79 שגשארים אחרי מעזבוני כי אם ביד יוסף אסכנדראני שיעשה

²¹ Hebrew for the ordinary Arabic, *Maghribi*.

²² For סָפֵר. A frequent form. See other examples below.

²³ For ישתדל.

²⁴ Or Armenia?

- 59 did I go forth to the market-place, except involuntarily, on Sabbath Eve.
 Only a few days ago the honorable Rabbi Samuel
 60 Ben Yōḥai went to Aleppo and to all those surrounding [places], to
 collect money for the students of
 61 the Law. And it happened in the case of Rabbi Abraham Ma'raḇi²¹, my
 daughter's betrothed, [that Rabbi Samuel] said to him: "Stand with
 me
 62 and persuade them to give to me on account of your father-in-law,
 Iskandarānī, and on account of the other Sons of
 63 the Law." And Rabbi Abraham told me²² that he stood and solicited²³
 as well as he was able; and that, when the [above-]mentioned Rabbi
 64 Samuel returned with the money which he had collected²² from the
 congregations, the honorable Rabbi Moses, the dayyān, took the whole
 [of it]. And truly
 65 not even a single penny reached me. With these sentiments the honor-
 able Rabbi Samuel, [above] mentioned, went
 66 to the land of Turkey²⁴, and collected what he could²². And when he
 had reached Aleppo, he sent to give
 67 us greetings; but all that had come into his hands he turned over to the
 honorable Rabbi Moses. I have never run after
 68 these things, nor have I received what belonged to others: save only
 what my kinsmen sent me,
 69 the honorable Rabbi Joseph Iskandarānī and his brothers—May God
 preserve him!—for they have shown me many kindnesses. May God
 reward
 70 the good! Never has there come into my hands what belonged to others.
 On one occasion a woman
 71 was ill, and the physician was the honorable Rabbi Joseph, the Egyptian,
 of blessed memory, who was called [in Arabic] 'Afif Ibn Ezra.
 72 He went in and out of her house, in the manner of physicians; and when
 she felt within herself that she
 73 was departing to her eternal home, she sent to have me summoned by
 the [above-]mentioned physician. But I did not go to her [house]
 74 because I knew that she wished to place in my hands the money of her
 estate—for she had no heir—
 75 and I did not wish to go to her [house]. And the honorable Rabbi
 Joseph, the physician, [above] mentioned, came to me, and said to me:
 "Know
 76 that she is inclining toward death, and that the gentiles will take all
 that she has in her possession; and [yet] you have sworn
 77 that nothing of this shall be gathered into your hand. Give us [therefore]
 advice [as to] what we are to do." And he brought what
 78 the woman had sent to me by his hand; for she had said to him: "I do
 not wish this money,
 79 which shall be left behind me in the way of an estate, to be in the hands
 of any but Joseph Iskandarānī, to do

- 80 לי בהם מה שמועיל לנפשי ומפני שנשבעתי שלא לקבלם הלכתי
- 81 עמו אצל ר' משה הדיין ושלחנו אחר כבוד החכם השלם ר' פריץ
- 82 וסיפר להם ר' יוסף את המעשה ושלא רציתי לקבל אז אמר כר' פריץ
- 83 כיון שהאשה לא רצתה כי אם כך מה תרצה לעשות מאלו המעות אחר
- 84 שנשבעת שלא תקבלם אמרתי לו רצוני שיהיו בפקדון אצל כר' משה הדיין
- 85 ומה שנראה שיגיע ממנו תועלת לנפש הענייה הנפטרת נעשה מהו
- 86 בעצת כולנו והסכמנו על זה ואז הוציא כר' יוסף הרופא המעות ונמצא
- 87 מנינם שלשים זהובים יפים וטובים חסר אחד "והוציא תלאת אקראץ
- 88 מטוֹיִה כסף מזוקק ונשבע שזה מה ששלחה בידו האשה הנפטרת
- 89 באמונה ליתנו לי להוציא על נשמתה ואחר שעברו קצת ימים ומצאתי
- 90 שהיה עת בצורת והעניים בצער אמרתי לכר' משה הנה הגיע
- 91 עת לעשות ל^ה והוא היה אומר הוצאתים בעניינים אחרים ונשמט
- 92 מכאן ומכאן ועכשיו^{בדברים} הוכחתיו מה עשית ממעות של אשה זו עניה והוא
- 93 השיב הקהל נתנו לי והם לקחוהו ממני ובאמת שלא ידע בזה שום אדם
- 94 חוץ מן הנזכרים וגם חקרת^{למעלה כלפריץ ול' יוסף מצרי}י מגדולי הקהל ונשבעו שלא ידעו בדבר זה
- 95 מעולם ואלולי שגילוי דברים אלו יגיע מהם נזק לרבים מן הגוים לא הייתי
- 96 שותק ממנו והייתי עושה זה להציל נפשי מעלבון הענייה בעלת המעות
- 97 וימחול לי מעלת אדוני שהלאיתך והערכתי על כבודך ברוב דברים אנה

²⁵ Supply ה.

²⁶ Arabic, meaning some article of personal adornment.

²⁷ Psalm cxix, 126.

²⁸ This phrase is in Arabic.

²⁹ Added above the line in the same hand.

³⁰ Added above the line in a different hand.

80 for me with it that which will help my soul." But, since I had sworn
not to accept them, I went
81 with him to Rabbi Moses, the dayyān; and we sent for the honorable,
wise [and] perfect Rabbi Perez(?);
82 and Rabbi Joseph told them of the matter, and [also] that I did not
wish to accept [the money]. Then the honorable Rabbi Perez said:
83 "Since the woman did not wish [anyone] but you [to have the money],
what do you wish to do with this money, after
84 you have sworn that you will not accept it?" I said to him: "My wish
is that it shall be upon deposit with the honorable Rabbi Moses,
[the]²⁵ dayyān;
85 and whatever we shall perceive to bring profit to the soul of the poor
woman who is departed, we shall do [by using some] of it,
86 with the advice of us all." And we agreed upon this. And then the
honorable Rabbi Joseph, the physician, brought out the money; and
their number
87 was found [to be] thirty gold-pieces, fair and good, less one. And he
brought out three folded
88 discs²⁸ [of] refined silver. And he swore that this was what the deceased
woman had sent by his hand
89 in good faith, for him to give me, to expend for the sake of her soul.
And after a few days had passed, and I found
90 that it was a time of scarcity and [that] the poor [were] in distress,
I said to the honorable Rabbi [Perez ?] and to Rabbi Moses: "Behold
the time
91 has come for the Lord to work²⁷." But he kept saying: "I have spent
it for other poor people; and it has been expended
92 in this place and that²⁸ in [different] undertakings²⁹." And now I called
him to account, [saying]: "What have you done with the money of
this poor woman?" But he
93 [merely] answered: "The congregation gave it to me, and they have
taken it from me." But the truth [is] that no man knew [anything]
about this,
94 excepting those mentioned—beyond the honorable Rabbi Perez, and
Rabbi Joseph [the] Egyptian³⁰. And I have also made inquiry of the
important persons of the congregation; and they have sworn that
they never knew [anything] about this
95 matter. And had it not been that a divulgence of these matters would
have brought injury to many at the hands of the gentiles, I should
not have been
96 silent about it; but I should have done this to release myself from the
reproach of the poor woman, the owner of the money.
97 But his Eminence, my Lord, will forgive me that I have wearied you³¹
and taxed³² your Honor with [the burden of hearing] many words
about various matters;

³¹ I.e. "him" etc.

³² For הערבתִי. Ashkenazic pronunciation of ח?

98 ואנה כי מרוב שיחי וכעסי דברתי עד הנה " ובמָטו ממעלתך אדוני שתברך
99 את קרובי כִּרְ יוסף אסכנדראני ואחיו על כל טוב שגמלני ואתה שלום
וְשׂוֹאֵלִישׁ

100 יוסף כִּרְ אברהם זֵלֶהָ נכתב שבת והיית לנו לעינים

101 אנו החתומים למטה . צעירי תלמידך קטני עבדיך מנשקים עפר ארץ
102 לפני יקר כבודיך ומודיעים אנו למעלתך איך אנו לומדים תורה וכל
103 עסקינו בה בגמרא לפני רבינו החתום למעלה ואין אנו כזולתינו פעם
104 רוחשים ופעמים מחשים אלא בכל יום תמיד אנו קובעים לתורה עתים
105 ואין לרבינו הנזכר למעלה מן התלמוד בטלה . לא כמו שעושה כִּרְ משה
106 שיוצא לכפרים להביא רבש הדבורים שלו ופנים יוצא להביא תירושו
107 ויצהרו וכרמלו ובגזירתו מקל עול מעל הלומדים לפניו מהארנוניות
108 ומעול מלכיות וליקט אליו עם שלו קצת אנשים שאינם בעלי שכל וסברא
109 כגון מבארך בן עדואן וזאהי ומעתוק וכיוצא באלו ופוסר אותם ומעמים
110 עלינו ואדוני ישאל בעד אלו וכיוצא בהם מהחכם כִּרְ נסים והוא יגיד
מה שהן

111 יודעין והלואי שיהיו הכל פטורין ולא יתנו העומס עלינו " וכשבא
112 כִּרְ שמואל מסעוד לצפת אמר משם מעלתך שכל מי שעוסק בתורה
113 מסייעו אדונינו הנגיד ירום הודו והוגר לנו שעשה סיווע לספרדיים
114 ולא עשה שום סיווע לעבדיך המסתערביים ואנו החתומים למטה
115 עם היות שיש ממנו עומדים לפני המלכות וממנו מטופלים בבני בית
116 אין אנו מניחין הלימוד תמיד בתלמוד אבל אי אפשר לנו להיות יושבים

³³ I Samuel i, 16.

³⁴ ושואל בשלומך .

³⁵ זכרנו לחיי העולם הבא .

³⁶ Numbers x, 31.

³⁷ Arabic for Baruch, "Blessed."

³⁸ "Hostility" (?).

³⁹ "Brilliant." Cf. Glanz, Finkelstein, etc.

⁴⁰ "Freedman."

⁴¹ Aramaized Hebrew, and confused.

⁴² בשם ?

⁴³ The 2nd and 3rd persons are confused.

⁴⁴ An Arabic word with a Hebrew plural ending.

98 "for out of the abundance of my complaint and my provocation have
I spoken hitherto³³." And [I beg] as a favor from your Eminence, my
Lord, that you will greet
99 my kinsman, the honorable Rabbi Joseph Iskandarānī, and his brothers,
[and bless him] for every good thing which he has done for me. And
[to] you: Farewell! And the one who greets you³⁴ [is]
100 Joseph, son of Rabbi Abraham—[May] his memory [be] eternal life³⁵!
Written [upon] the sabbath of the [Scripture reading:] "And thou
shalt be to us instead of eyes³⁶."

101 We, whose names are signed below, the youngest of your students, the
least of your servants, kiss the dust of the ground
102 before the Dignity of your Honor. And we [beg to] inform your
Eminence how we are studying the Law, and of all
103 our activities in the Gemara, with our master whose name is signed
above. We are not like the others: at one time
104 working, and [many] times doing nothing; but every day without
exception we set apart hours for [studying] the Law.
105 Nor does our master, mentioned above, have any leisure from teaching.
[He does] not [do] as the honorable Rabbi Moses does, [at one time]
106 going forth to the villages to bring in the honey of his bees, and [at
another] time going forth to bring in his new wine
107 and his oil and his grain, and by his decree relieving students under
his instruction from taxes³
108 and from the burden of the royal levies. And [Rabbi Moses] has
selected people who belong to him: a parcel of men possessing no
intelligence or understanding,
109 as, for example, Mubārak³⁷ Ibn 'Udwān³⁸, and Zāhī³⁹, and Ma'tūk⁴⁰,
and the like of these. And he lets them go free while laying burdens
110 upon us. And let my Lord inquire concerning these [men] and the
like of them, from the wise, the honorable Rabbi Nissim; and he will
tell what they
111 know⁴¹. But oh that all [of us] were free, and that the oppressor were
not placed over us! And when the honorable
112 Rabbi Samuel Mas'ūd came to Safed, he said, in the name⁴² of your
Excellency, that everyone who occupied himself with the Law
113 should receive assistance from our Lord the Nāgīd—May his glory be
exalted!—But we have been told that he has given help to the Spanish
[Jews],
114 and has given no help to his⁴³ servants the Arabized [Jews]⁴⁴. And we,
the undersigned,
115 in spite of the fact that [some] of us stand before Royalty⁴⁵, and [some]
of us have dependent children,
116 never cease at all to study the Talmud. But it is not possible for us to
be sitting

⁴⁵ They were in military service?

117 תמיד על הספר אבל יש בנו מי שעדיין לא יתפלפל כך ואלו מצא עזר
לעצמו

118 היה מועיל יהיו נא עיני אדוני פקוחות על עבדיך הסרים למשמעתך

119 המתפללים לך. תמיד בעד שלותך ימך יאריכו וחייך ימשכו ויגיעו

120 לימי אדונינו המלך המשיח שיגלה בזכותך במהרה בזמן קריב ובעגלה אדם.

121 חיה בר שמואל כהן נע חייה בך משה כהן סט

122 עובדיה בר שמואל נע מצליח בר שמואל כהן נע

123 יוסף בר אברהם כהן נע יוסף בך אהרן סט שמואל בר יעקב סט חבך

124 שמואל בר חלפון הלוי נבתי' הלל בר אברהם נע

125 כהן אלעלמאני

126 והנה אני החותם שמי מטה העלוב מיסורי הזמן מפני שאני נחפו ללכת

לעיר מולדתי דמשק

127 לא מצאה ידי לכתוב למעלת אדוננו שירום הודו ויגדל כבודו כתב כפי

הראוי אמנם אגיד צערי

128 ומה שקרא לי עם כבוד הדין הנזכר כי זה פעמים שלש שבאתי מדמשק

לדור בארץ הקדושה

129 ועל אודות צער שמגיע לי ממנו יצאתי מצפת כמה מצרים וצערם הגיעו

לי על ידו כי

130 כן משפטו להצר לכל בעלי תורה וסברא למען לא יקרא בשם חכם

זולתו לבדו והנה בתחלת

131 עניינו על רבו שלמדו תורה קשר קל וחומר על אחרים כי רבו היה

בר אברהם פתילה ולה

46 For יתפלפל.

47 Cf. Jeremiah xxxii, 19.

48 Cf. the unintelligible passage in I Samuel xxii, 14, which the Revised Version translates badly: "and is taken into thy council."

49 A very strange sign in the text.

50 Aramaic פִּעְנָלָא.

51 אמן נצח סלה. 52 נוחו ערן. These were dead.

53 סופו טוב. These were still living. 54 "Successful."

55 Not an abbreviation, as we see from the form of פ.

56 נפשו בטוב תלין ויתברך.

- 117 forever at the Book! There are among us some who do not yet argue⁴⁶
[points] so [well]. But if [such a one] found help for himself
118 it would help others. May the eyes of my Lord be open upon his⁴³
servants⁴⁷ who turn when they hear him,^{43, 48}
119 who pray to God⁴⁹ continually for his⁴³ peace of mind: May your days
be long, and may your life stretch out and touch
120 the days of our Lord, the King, the Messiah, who [we pray] may be
revealed through your merit soon, in a time near at hand, and in haste⁵⁰!
Amen! Forever! Selah⁵¹! [Signed:]
121 Ḥiyyāh, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden⁵²!
Ḥiyyā, son of the honorable Rabbi Moses Kōhēn—[May] his end [be]
good⁵³!
122 Obadiah, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden!
Maṣlīah⁵⁴, son of Rabbi Samuel Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden!
123 Joseph, son of Rabbi Abraham Kōhēn—[May] his rest [be in] Eden!
Joseph, son of Rabbi Aaron—[May] his end [be] good! Samuel, son
of Rabbi Jacob—[May] his end [be] good!.....⁵⁵
124 Samuel, son of Rabbi Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī—May his soul rest in good, and
be blessed⁵⁶! Hillēl, son of Rabbi Abraham—[May] his rest [be] in
Eden!
125 Kōhēn the German⁵⁷.

-
- 126 Behold I, who have signed my name below, [a man] afflicted by the
visitations of the times, because I was in haste to go to Damascus, the
city of my nativity,
127 did not find [opportunity] to write to the Eminence of our Lord—May
his glory be exalted, and his honor be magnified—a letter according
to propriety. [Yet now] in truth I shall tell of my suffering
128 and of what befell me in connection with the honorable dayyān [above]
mentioned: for it [is now] three times that I have come from Damascus
to dwell in the Holy Land,
129 and have left Safed because of trouble which overtook me through him.
How many troubles and afflictions have overtaken me at his hands!
For
130 such is his manner of oppressing all the masters of the Law and of
tradition to the end that [no one] shall be called by the appellation
“wise” except himself only. And behold, in the beginning of
131 his affair⁵⁸ he conspired against his rabbi, who had taught him the Law,
in a great conspiracy. How much more then did he conspire against
others! For his rabbi was the honorable Rabbi Abraham Pethilāh⁵⁹—
May his memory endure unto the life of the World to Come⁶⁰!—

⁵⁷ The modern Arabic word for “German,” with the Arabic article. He is not merely an אשכנזי, but comes from Germany itself. He does not give his father’s name, and may be a recent arrival.

⁵⁸ עֲיִנּוּ “incumbency.”

⁵⁹ “Wick.”

⁶⁰ זכרונו לחיי העולם הבא

- ¹³² יצא מן העולם והוא מצטער ממנו על זה יאמר אשרי מי שרוח הבריות
נוחה הימנו וישאל¹
- ¹³³ מעלת אדוני עניינו מן הבריות ועתה איני יודע מה לעשות כי באתי
בנדר ובשבועה על
- ¹³⁴ עצמי לבוא לדור בארץ הקדושה כי כך מנהג אבותי שנפטרו לחיי עד
כשמזקינים באים
- ¹³⁵ באים לארץ ישראל להיות קולטתן מחיים וזה רוצה לגרשני ממנה
שבכל עת שאני חוזר לדמשק
- ¹³⁶ מגיע לי צער ונוק וחולי בעון הנדר והשבועה ולעולם לא גמלתי לו
רעה אלא אדרבה נשתדלתי
- ¹³⁷ בענייניו כששלח לדמשק ולכל הגלילות לקבץ מעות על שם הישיבה
אז עמדתי באהבה וחיבה
- ¹³⁸ ומשכתי את הקהל במתק אהבה ודרשתי בכל קהלות דמשק ועשו נדבה
בשביל
- ¹³⁹ ישיבת התורה שנים עשר זהובים וכן משפטי לכל עובר ויושב^{??} לאמין את
הנבשל וכן
- ¹⁴⁰ בכל עת ועת שהיה שולח אני הייתי משתדל לעשות רצונו לחיבת
התורה ולומדיה ולחיבת
- ¹⁴¹ הדרים בארץ וזה תחת אהבתי ישמנני תחת רדפי טוב חפץ יקטלני
ואע"פ שבני אדם
- ¹⁴² באים וצועקים ממעשיו לפני אני גוער בהם ומכללם אשה דלה ענייה
ואלמנה וברחה
- ¹⁴³ מדמשק מהחובות שעליה ובאה לדור בצפת ונשקה אדם אחד ונתן לה
חמשים כספים
- ¹⁴⁴ ממטבע דמשק ולא עלה זיווגם יפה וגרשה בימים מעטים קיבל ממנה ר'
משה בכתובה
- ¹⁴⁵ ובגט ששה ושלשים כספים וחבל בגד האלמנה עד שקיבל הששה ושלשים
נשארו בידה

⁶¹ Mishnah iii, 10: "Every [man] in whom the spirit of men [finds] its rest, in him the spirit of God [finds] its rest. And every [man] in whom the spirit of men [finds] not its rest, in him the spirit of God [finds] not its rest." In the present case: "Blessed is the man who is beloved on earth, for he is assuredly beloved in Heaven." Rabbi Moses was not one of these.

⁶² Word repeated.

- 132 [Rabbi Abraham] departed this world [much] grieved with him. To this [the Mishna] says: "Blessed is he in whom the spirit of men [finds] its rest⁶¹." And his Eminence, my Lord,
- 133 asks [about] his dealings with men: I know not what to do now; for I came, under a vow and an oath [which I had taken] upon
- 134 myself, to go to dwell in the Holy Land—for thus [was] the custom of my fathers who have gone to eternal life, that when they became old they went⁶²
- 135 to the Land of Israel in order that it might receive us [under its protection] while still living⁶³. And this [man] wishes to drive me from it. For every time I return to Damascus
- 136 trouble and misfortune and sickness overtake me because of the sin of the [unfulfilled] vow and oath. And yet I never did him any wrong; but, on the contrary, I exerted myself⁶⁴
- 137 in his undertaking, when he sent to Damascus and to all the [neighboring] districts, to collect funds in the name of the Academy. At that time I stood in love and affection,
- 138 and I drew the congregation [after me] with the sweetness of love⁶⁵; and I preached in all the congregations of Damascus; and they gave alms in the cause of
- 139 the Academy of the Law: twelve gold-pieces. And this is my manner toward everyone transient and resident: to strengthen him who has stumbled. And thus,
- 140 on each occasion when he sent [solicitors], I exerted myself to do his will, for love of the Law and its teachers, and for love
- 141 of those who dwell in the [Holy] Land. But this man, instead of [requiting] my love, antagonised me; instead of [emulating] my pursuit of good, desired to kill me. And although⁶⁶ men
- 142 come and cry aloud of his deeds before me, I rebuke them. And of all [the complaints, I mention particularly] a woman, poor, destitute, and widowed, a fugitive
- 143 from Damascus, on account of the debts which she owed. And she had come to dwell in Safed; and a certain man kissed her⁶⁷ and gave her fifty pieces of silver
- 144 of the Damascus mint. But their marriage did not turn out well, and he divorced her after a few days. Rabbi Moses took from her for the marriage contract
- 145 and for the letter of divorce thirty-six pieces of silver. And he took the widow's clothing as security⁶⁸, until he should receive the thirty-six. [Thus] she had left

⁶³ *Kethübhöth* IIIa, cited by Levy, *op. cit.*: אינו דומה קודטתו מחיים לקולטתו לאחר מיתה: "He whom [Palestine] receives while living, is not to be compared to him whom it receives after his death."

⁶⁴ For השתדלתי?

⁶⁵ נת was written, but deleted.

⁶⁶ וואף על פי ש.

⁶⁷ I.e. "married her"? The word has been corrected by the scribe.

⁶⁸ Cf. Deuteronomy xxiv, 17.

- ¹⁴⁶ ארבעה עשר כספים למוקדם ולמאוחר הן אלה קצות דרכיו וכאלה רבים
ועם כל זה לעולם
- ¹⁴⁷ לא הכנסתי עצמי בשום דבר מענייניו מלבד שיש לו תלמיד אחד לר'
משה הנז'
- ¹⁴⁸ מכפר יאסיף והוא דר בעין אלזיתון ולמד עליו הלכות שהיטה וכששמעתי
מרמשק
- ¹⁴⁹ מכר יוסף סרקוסי ומר שמואל בהלול ומזולתם על אודות השוחט הנזכר
שיצאו עליו
- ר' יוסף סרקוסי זלחע
- ¹⁵⁰ דבות רבות ועמד החכם והסכים עליו שלא יהא שוחט ובודק ומוכר
לעצמו כי הבהמות
- ¹⁵¹ שלו וממנו יתר וממנו פינה כאלו בידו עדות נעמנה למבוח ולברוק
ולמכור עד שמחמת
- ¹⁵² זה כל אנשי עין אלזיתון ואנשי ביריא וצפת מרגנים עליו ומדברים אחריו
שלא יצא
- ¹⁵³ מבהמותיו כי אם מעט טרפות וכשראה החכם ר' יוסף סרקוסי הנזכר
עניינו גזר
- ¹⁵⁴ שלא יאכל שום אדם משחיטתו עד שיעמידו עליו איש נאמן על השחיטה
ועל הבדיקה
- ¹⁵⁵ אעפ' שעם היות עד אחד נאמן באסורים זה נחשד מכמה דברים מוסף
על היות
- ¹⁵⁶ שמגיע לו נזק בעת שתעלה הבהמה טרפה שאינו מוכר אותה בחצי דמי
הבשרה
- ¹⁵⁷ אחר שנפטר החכם ר' יוסף סרקוסי זלח החזירו ר' משה להיותו נאמן
על עצמו מבלי
- ¹⁵⁸ שיעמיד אחד עמו וכשראיתי שהדברים מגיע מהם נזק גדול לנפשות
ישראל כי כל
- ¹⁵⁹ שלשה עיירות אוכלים משחיטתו אמרתי לר' משה שאין ראוי שזה יהיה
נאמן לעצמו כי

⁶⁹ הנזכר.

⁷⁰ See Baedeker, *Palästina* (1910), p. 250.

⁷¹ See *ibid.* p. 242.

⁷² "of Saragossa." A Rabbi Joseph Saragossi reorganised the Safed community in 1492 (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. Safed). Our Moses succeeded Joseph (line 157), and must have been the elder Moses di Trani, Rabbi of Safed, 1525-1535, according to *J. E.*, s.v. Trani.

146 [only] fourteen pieces of silver as the former and latter [marriage gifts].
 Behold, these are some of his ways; and [there are] many [others]
 like them. And in spite of all this never
 147 have I involved myself in any of his affairs, except [in one case]. The
 [above-]mentioned⁶⁹ Rabbi Moses had a student
 148 from Kafr Yāsif⁷⁰, and he lives in 'Ain al-Zaitūn⁷¹, and he taught him
 the laws of slaughtering [animals]. And according to what I have
 heard from Damascus,
 149 from the honorable Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī⁷² and from Rabbi Samuel
 Bahlūl⁷³ and from others, about the [above-]mentioned butcher, there
 went forth against him
 150 many evil reports; and the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī—[May] his
 memory [be] for everlasting life!—stood up and agreed [with those]
 against him, that he should not be⁷⁴ butcher and inspector and retailer
 for himself. For the cattle
 151 [were] his own; and he sometimes allowed to pass, and sometimes con-
 demned—as if [indeed] he possessed “sure testimony⁷⁵” to slaughter,
 and inspect, and sell—until, on account of
 152 this, all the men of 'Ain al-Zaitūn and the men of Biria(?)⁷⁶ and Safed
 spoke evil against him, and said concerning him that only a few
 153 of his animals turned out [to be ritually] unclean. And when the wise
 Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī, [above] mentioned, saw his doings, he decreed
 154 that no man should eat of his slaughter[ed animals] until [the authorities]
 appointed over him a trustworthy man for the slaughtering and for
 the inspection.
 155 And, although⁶⁶ for prohibitions⁷⁷ one witness is trusted, this [man] was
 suspected, for many reasons, even of being [such that],
 156 when a loss accrued to him on the occasion of an animal's turning out
 [to be ritually] unclean, that he would⁷⁸ sell it for half the price of a
 [ritually] clean [one].
 157 After the wise Rabbi Joseph Sarakossī departed [this life]—[May] his
 memory [be] for [everlasting] life!—Rabbi Moses again made him
 responsible for himself, without
 158 his appointing anyone [to serve] with him. And when I saw that great
 loss would result to the souls of Israel—for all
 159 three cities⁷⁹ eat of his slaughter[ed animals]—I said to Rabbi Moses
 that it is not proper that this [man] should be responsible for himself;
 for

⁷³ “Laughing.”

⁷⁴ For ^לל?

⁷⁵ Cf. Psalm xix, 8.

⁷⁶ Some unidentified village very near to Safed. It could not, of course, be al-Birah near Rāmāllāh, in the south.

⁷⁷ The community could usually trust anyone to report uncleanness in the common food supply, and one objection was sufficient to cause prohibition.

⁷⁸ Literally: “was suspected.....that he would not.”

⁷⁹ I.e. Safed, 'Ain al-Zaitūn, and Biria(?).

- 160 בסבת זה יש רינן על כבודך ועליו כי כל נתח טוב וכל ירך וכתף קורא
אותו על שמך
- 161 ואם לא תעמיד עליו נאמן יהיה רינן וחילול על התורה וכל שכן שקדם
לזה תקנה
- 162 מרבי יוסף סרכוס^{שאסר לאכול} מבשר שהוא מוכר עד שיעמידו עליו בודק נאמן ואיך
נהרום
- 163 מה שבנה החכם הנפטר זלחע ולא רצה ר' משה לתקן והלכתי לעין אל
זיתון וחקרתי
- 164 על הענין ושלח ר' משה הסכמה בכח כל מי שיש יודע לשוחט הנוכר
שום קלקול או
- 165 בלבול מענייני השחיטה והבדיקה ויגיד לי וכאלה רבות יכלה הזמן והם
לא יכלו ומפני
- 166 שאני נחפו ללכת לדמשק לא ספרתי אחת מני אלף ואם יישר^ה בעיני
מור הנה מה
- 167 טוב אבל חלילה וחס ומצד קנאתו ממני מנעני מדברי תורה אני וזולתי
ועכשיו אם טוב
- 168 בעיני אדוני שיבטלני מדברי תורה אני וזולתי עלי לקבל גזרתך ואין
להאריך כי אם בשלומך.
- 169 שיגדל לעד ואל יחדל כחפצך וחפץ הנרצע לאהבתך ומתפלל תמיד
בעד שלומך
- 170 ומצפה לתשובתך ישמעאל בר יה^ה [ורה] זלחה

⁸⁰ Cf. Ezekiel xxiv, 4.

⁸¹ At the beginning of line 166 there is a ן or an א.

⁸² The word was misspelled, deleted, and then written above the line.

- 160 on account of this there is evil comment against your Honor and against him, since he names "every good piece," and every "thigh and shoulder⁸⁰" with your name.
- 161 And, if you do not appoint over him a trustworthy [person] there will be criticism and desecration of the Law—all the more, [indeed], since an order from Rabbi Joseph
- 162 Sarakossī has already been [issued], which forbids [us] to eat of the flesh which that [man] sells, until [the authorities] appoint over him a trustworthy inspector. How shall we destroy
- 163 what the wise [man] has built, [who is] departed!—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting [life]! But Rabbi Moses did not wish to restore [order]; so, I went to 'Ain al-Zaitūn, and I investigated
- 164 the affair. And Rabbi Moses sent out an opinion with [some] vehemence: "Anyone who knew, [with reference] to the [above-]mentioned butcher, any injuri[ous rumor] or
- 165 slander, respecting the matters of slaughter and inspection, and told [it] to me—" And [there are] many [other cases] like these. Time may pass away, but they will not pass away. But because⁸¹
- 166 I am in haste to go to Damascus, I have not recounted one out of a thousand. And if this [conduct] is right in the eyes of my Lord and Master⁸², then what [is the]
- 167 good [of my protest]! But God forbid! Because of his jealousy of me [this man] has prevented me⁸³ from [preaching the] words of [the] Law—me and others besides me. And now, if [it be] good
- 168 in the eyes of my Lord that [this man] keep me from [preaching the] words of [the] Law—me and others besides me—it is for me to accept your decision, and not to continue [this letter] except in [wishing] your prosperity.
- 169 That it may increase forever, and languish never, as is your wish, and the wish of [him who is] the object of your affection, and who prays unceasingly for your prosperity,
- 170 and who awaits your answer, Ishmael, son of Rabbi J[udah?]⁸⁴—[May] his memory [be] for everlasting life!

⁸³ מרִי וְאֲדוֹנִי.

⁸⁴ The last name is written as a monogram, and there is a break in the paper just at this point.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS¹

- Academy, 245
- address, elaborate, 143
 - forms of, 62
- adultery, 53 ff.
- almonds, 231
- amulets, 125
- animals, speaking, 125
- anointing, 209
- aphrodisiac amulet, 23
- "apology," 165
- "Appointed," 26 ff.
- Arabic, bad or peculiar, 112, 151
 - classical, 133
 - Maghribi, VII
 - script, II, XVI, XIX, XXVII, XXXV, 116
 - vernacular, IX, XII, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XLV, XLVII
- arabised Jews, 257
- Aramaic, 1, 58
- arbitration, 5 ff., 43
- article, Arabic and Hebrew, 104

- banker, 25
- betrothal, 179
- Bible paraphrases, XXXVIII
- books, borrowing of, 125
 - purchase of, 65
 - used by children, 153
- bribes, 149
- bride, twelve year old, 187
- business, methods, 161
 - overhead, 75
 - risks, 33, 51, 165

- cabbalistic names, 107
- canal, 54
- captive, marriage of a, 183
- captivity, 52
- caravan route, Cairo-Damascus, 139 ff.
- caravan station, XLVII
- Cashmere shawls, 179
- charm, XV, XXIV

- children, 153, 157
- circumcision of illegitimate, 55
- colors of dyes, 73
- commodities, 25, 73, 75, 99, 123, 153
- confiscation of synagogue, 233
- confusion of construction, 36, 46, 119-126, 138, 152 f., 158
- controversy, theological, 125
- Coptic numerals, XL
- coral, 75
 - gatherer, 75
- corruption in office, L
- credit, transfer of, 237, 239
- cryptic style, 18 f., 50, 95, 99, 133, 151, 165 ff.

- "dancer," 179
- dating, 4, 35
- Day of Atonement, 57, 209, 213
- debt, 1-5, 25
- divorce, 27 ff., 58 ff., 261
- documents, 3 ff.
- "dogs," 19
- dowry, 179 ff., 185
- drinking, 213
- dyeing business, XIV

- earthquake, 31
- "elephant," 94
- expenses, XXXVI

- fear of the supernatural, 106 f.
- fees, XXXVI
- festivals, 23
- "Fifth," 149
- foreign influence upon Arabic, XXXIII
- fractions, Egyptian, 164

- "gazelles' blood," 181
- ghosts, 106 f.
- "Glorious Place," 26 ff.
- "gold"-names, 70
- grammar, Hebrew, 123

- halachic fragment, XLIV

¹ Roman numerals refer to the documents, and Arabic numerals to the pages of this volume. The Indices do not cover the Introduction.

- handicrafts, 153, 161
handiwork, bride's, 179
hebraisms in Arabic, 162
Hebrew grammar, 123
honey, 59
Hormuzī goods, 180, 185
- illegitimacy, 55
inheritance, laws of, 183
inspector, 165
i'rāb, 41
- Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem, 121
- Karaite document, 179
Koranic expressions, 160, 163
- labor, requisitions of, 231
"lion"-names, 32, 66 ff.
liturgical memoranda (?), XLII
- magic, 23, 107
 circle, 106 f.
mail, 45 ff.
Market of Exchange, 49
marriage-broker, XL, XLVII
 -settlement, XLV
maxims, 127, 175, 261
meat-inspection, abuses in, 263
misappropriation of funds, 253, 255, 261
money-changer, 25
Monizah, swords of, 193
Moroccan money, 169
Muslims, relations with, 127
- names of God in magic, 106 ff.
- "obligation," 165
- pamphlets, 123 ff.
participle for imperfect, 51
partnership, 7 ff., 33, 191
penitential hymn, 84 ff.
pepper, 87
persecution, 97, 171
petition, XXXI, XXXII, XLVIII, XLIX
phonetic spelling, 130
pirates, 50
pizmōnīm, XVII, XIX, XX, XXXVIII
plene writing of vowels, 63
poll-tax, 23
pōšekīm, XLIV
prayer-book, X, XLVI
prepositions, XXVII
- "princes," 76 ff.
prohibitions, 209
pronunciation, 76 ff.
property settlement, XL
proverbs, 127, 261
- quotations on money, 63
- raja*s verses, 133
ransom, 50
renting houses, 23, 121
revenue-tax, 165
risks in business, 25 ff., 33 ff.
"runners," XLVII
- saffron, 153
salting of sacrifices, 211
screwing, XV
"Second," 149
Seleucid Era, 4, 35, 178
shoe, of a cripple, 215
"silver"-names, 71
skin diseases, 23
slavery, 50, 159, 223 f.
soap, 231
speech mixture, 39, 76
spell, for finding gold, 79
succuba, 106 f.
sugar, 191
"sugar"-names 66
sultan, 41, 103
synagogue, destroyed by Muslims, 233
- Talmud, XLIV
tartar, 25
tax-list, XIII
testament, IX
theft, 33
"tower," 171
"trembler," 179
- ultima-accent, 82, 41, 69
"uncircumcised" (Christian), 191
- vernacular forms of numerals, 138
vow to live in Palestine, 251, 261
- washing, 209
watermarks, XXVII, L
weaving business, 161
women, position of, 39
 clothing of, XL
- yeshībḥāh, 26, 159

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES¹

- Aaron al-Şafir, 131
 'Abd Allah al-Labbān, 225
 'Abd al-'Azīz, 133, 229, 231
 'Abd al-Karīm, 133
 'Abd al-Rahmān, 229
 Abraham Barakāt, 83
 Abraham Castro, 237, 241
 Abraham Ben Ezra, 90
 Abraham the Ḥazzān, 27 ff.
 Abraham Jabartī, 193
 Abraham al-Ḳalāʿī, 153, 157
 Abraham Maimūnī, 135
 Abraham Ma'rābī, 253
 Abraham Ben Obadiah, 219
 Abraham Pethilāh, 259
 Abraham, "Reader of the Law," 19 ff.
 Abraham Ben Şedhākāh, al-'Afif, 131
 Abraham Ben Shema'yāh, 7
 Abraham Ibn al-Shuwaikh, 133
 Abraham Skandarānī, 243
 Abū Abraham Ismā'il Ḳfwh (?), 63
 Abū Abraham Ibn Shbt, 95
 Abū al-Afrāḥ al-Arjawanī, 1 ff.
 Abū al-Afrāḥ 'Arūsah, Joseph, 165
 Abū al-A'lā, 127
 Abū al-A'lā Ibn al-Bahwarī, 67
 Abū al-'Alā Sā'id, 'Ulāh, 1 ff.
 Abū al-A'lā Ibn Sha'yā, 67
 Abū al-Bahā of Damascus, 13, 17
 Abū al-Ētān, 127
 Abū al-Faḍl, 125
 Abū al-Faḍl al-Nūr Ibn al-Nūr, 15
 Abū al-Faḍl Ibn 'Umrān, 97
 Abū al-Faraj, 23, 25, 53, 147
 Abū al-Faraj Nissim, 69
 Abū al-Faraj of Tyre, 127
 Abū al-Habn (?), 153
 Abū al-Ḥajjāj, 99
 Abū al-Ḥasan, 53, 112 ff., 155
 Abū al-Ḥasan Isaac, 159
 Abū al-Ḥasan Şadaḳah, 69
 Abū al-Ḥasan Şadaḳah Ibn Simon, 71
 Abū al-Ḥasan Salāmah, 97
 Abū al-Ḥasan Sibāʿ, 67
 Abū al-Ḥayy, 23, 69, 155
 Abū al-Ḥusain (?), 65
 Abū al-Ḥusain Ibn al-'Ābid, 69
 Abū al-Ḥusain al-Dhahabī, 70
 Abū Isaac Ibn al-'Assāl, 71
 Abū Isaac Brhōn (?), 65
 Abū Isaac Ibn Ḥujaij, 71
 Abū Isaac al-Iskandarānī, 73
 Abū Isaac Ibn Ṭayyibān, 155
 Abū 'Iṭr Ibn Sufrāwī, 65
 Abū Joseph Malūl Ibn Mosēs, 97 ff.
 Abū al-Khair, 69
 Abū al-Khair al-Bmārīn (?), 67
 Abū al-Khair, the Proselyte, 69
 Abū Manşūr, 69
 Abū Manşūr, the Registrar, 67
 Abū Manşūr Ibn Abū al-Faraj al-Ḳalyūbī, 36 ff.
 Abū Manşūr Ibn Ḥayyīm, 67
 Abū Moses Aaron, the Money-Changer, 71
 Abū al-Mufaḍḍal, 159
 Abū al-Mufaḍḍal Abraham Ibn Obadiah, 219 ff.
 Abū Muḥammad, 166
 Abū al-Munajjah, 15
 Abū Naşr, 69
 Abū Naşr Ibn Mukhtār, 69
 Abū Sa'd, 157
 Abū Sa'd Abraham Ibn Abū al-Faḍl, Sahl al-Tustarī, 143, 147
 Abū (Bū) Sa'd Ibn Abū Salāmah Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Maşrī, 163
 Abū Sa'd Ibn al-Ḳābisi, 67
 Abū Sa'd Ibn al-Katā'if, 69
 Abū Sa'd Ibn al-Sukkari, 67
 Abū Sa'id (?), 65
 Abū Sa'id, 94
 Abū al-Sarūr, 53, 87, 163
 Abū al-Sarūr Ibn Ma'ānī, 36 ff.
 Abū al-Sarūr Sidr al-Maghribī, 71
 Abūşīr, 96
 Abū Sudūr (*sic* /) Farah, 67
 Abū Thanā, 37 ff.
 Abū 'Ulā, 23

¹ Arranged according to the order of the Latin alphabet. Incomplete names, such as "Jacob," have not been included. Names have their English forms whenever possible.

- Abū al-‘Ulā Bin Bū al-Faraj Bin ‘Ayyārah, 32 ff.
 Abū ‘Umrān, 23
 Abū ‘Umrān, “with the police,” 69
 Abū ‘Umrān Moses Ibn Abū al-Ḥayy, 151 ff.
 Abū ‘Umrān Ibn Saghīr, 69
 Abū Yaḥyā Nahrāi Ibn Nissīm, 116, 129
 Abū Yaḥyā (?) Nathaniel Ibn Nissīm Ibn Maḥabbah (?) Ibn Maṣrūf (?) Ibn Moses, 63 ff.
 Abū Zachariah, 87
 Abū Zekharāi Ibn Manasseh, 69
 Abū Zekharāi Sūjmār, 69
 Abū Zubair Ṣadaḳah al-Maghribī, 116, 129
 Aden, 45 ff.
 al-‘Afif, Abraham Ibn Ṣadaḳah, 131
 ‘Afif Ibn Ezra, 253
 Aḥmad Shūmān, 233
 Aḥmad Ibn Sulaimān Ibn Ibrāhīm, 83
 ‘Ain al-Zaitūn, 263, 265
 Aleppo, 26, 103, 229, 253
 Alexandria, 14, 19, 33, 157 ff.
 Alfāsī, 203 ff.
 ‘Alī Ibn Salmān (?), 155
 (Mar) ‘Allān, 9, 11, 19
 ‘Allān (?) Ibn Yaḥyā, 151, 155
 al-‘Āmirī, 229
 al-Anṣārī, 51
 Ariel, 137
 ‘Arūs, 1 ff.
 Asher, 127, 205
 Ashī, 207
 ‘Aṭā’, Jacob, 97
 ‘Aṭallāh, 53
 al-Athīr, the Kādī, of Alexandria, 33 ff.
 ‘Aṭṭārī al-Yāzūrī, 97
 ‘Awwād al-Dīn, 13
 Azhar Bin Azhar, 71
 al-Azhar Ibn Jonah, the Spaniard, 27 ff.
 al-Ballūṭī, 121
 Banyās (?), 153
 Barakāt, 51
 Bayyān, the Ḥazzān, 53
 Benarī, 32
 Benha al-‘Asal, 59
 Berākhōth Ibn Abū al-Manṣūr, 39
 Bilbais, 13 ff., 139
 Bīria, 263
 Brhōn (?), 65, 99
 Būk, 27
 Būṣīr, 96 f.
 Būzār, 68
 Byzantine Jews, 55
 Cana of Galilee, 141
 Castro, Abraham, 237, 241
 Ceylon, 45 ff.
 Colombo, 45 ff.
 Dabbāh, 17
 Damascus, 139 ff., 231, 249 ff.
 Damietta, 14
 Dulce Bint Isaac Ibn Joseph, Naaman, 179
 Edom, 84, 149
 Eleazar, 205
 Elijah, Judge in Kalyūb (?), VIII
 Elijah ha-Kōhēn Ben Solomon, the “Fifth,” 199
 Esther Bint Moses Ben Jacob he-Ḥākhām, Kuḥlī, 183
 Faḍl Farīkah (?), 189
 Faraj Bin Nahum, 71
 al-Fiḍḍī, Abū Isaac, 71
 Finkelstein, 71
 France (?), 99
 Fustāt, *passim*
 Futūḥ the Egyptian, 53
 Gā’ōn Ya’kōb (Yeshībhāh), 26
 Gaza, 139, 229
 German, Kōhēn the, 259
 Glanz, 71
 Ḥākhām Ben Isaac, 233
 Halākhōth Gedhōlōth, VI, XLIV
 Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, 95
 Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī Ben Menasseh, 11
 Ḥananēl, 203, 217
 Ḥānēs, 149
 Ḥanūn, Yaḥyā Bar Nissīm, 187
 Ḥassūn, 19, 23
 Ḥassūn Ibn Isaac, 97 ff.
 Hebron, 118
 Henassīyeh, 148
 Herz, 32
 Hibah, 27, 69
 Hilāl al-Atrūblusī, 155
 Ḥīyyā (*sic*!) Ben Moses Kōhēn, 259
 Ḥīyyah Ben Samuel Kōhēn, 259
 Holy Sepulchre, Church of the (?), 121
 Hunā, 209
 Hurmuz, 181, 185
 al-Ḥusain, 21
 Ibn Abūh, 67
 Ibn ‘Ain al-Daulah, 167
 Ibn ‘Ammō, 66

- Ibn (Bin) Asad Ibn Samuel Ibn Judah 32 ff.
 Ibn 'Azūr (?), 95
 Ibn al-Baṣrī, 161
 Ibn Bushair, 69
 Ibn Elias, 53
 Ibn Ghurāb, 25
 Ibn (Bin) al-Ḳalī, 33
 Ibn al-Ḳuzdīrī, Hājī 'Alī, 45 ff.
 Ibn Mufarrij al-Ubzārī, 69
 Ibn Raḥmah, 69
 Ibn al-Raḳḳī, 97
 Ibn al-Rifā, 67
 Ibn Sahl, 69
 Ibn Sandabīsī, 41
 Ibn al-Shuwaikh, Abraham, 133
 Ibn al-Tirmidhī, 67
 Ibn 'Ulaik, 105
 Ibn 'Umrān, 67
 Ibn al-Zaiyāt, 47
 Immanuel Ben Yehi'el, 61
 India, 47 ff.
 Indian Ocean, 45
 Isaac Ibn Abū Sa'd Ibn Muḥāsin, 83
 Isaac Ibn Khalf (?), 97
 Isaac Ḳrshānt (?), 95
 Isaac Māyō, 191
 Isaac Mhlnī, 193
 Isaac Ibn Obadiah, 95
 Isaac Ṣabāh, 245
 Isaac Ben Samuel ha-Sephārdī, 7
 Isaac the Spaniard, 127
 Isma'īn Shāwish (Shawish?), 233
 Israel Ben Israel Ben Daniel, 163
- Jacob Ben Joseph, Father of the Law Court, 26
 Jacob Ben Joseph ha-Ḥasīdh, Gā'ōn, 26 ff.
 Janān, 219
 Jehu, 249
 Jerusalem, 26 ff.
 Joseph, the Scribe, 189
 Joseph Ben Aaron, 259
 Joseph Ḥallūfī (?), 195
 Joseph Ibn al-Dhahabī, Abū Jacob, 219
 Joseph Iskandarānī, 253
 Joseph al-Jadīd, 53
 Joseph ha-Kōhēn ha-Shōfēt Ben Solomon Mebhōrākh Ben 'Lwn Ben Moses, the "Fourth," XLIII
 Joseph ha-Lēvī, 9
 Joseph al-Maghribī, 53
 Joseph Ibn Ṣadōḳ, 55
 Joseph Sarakossī (Saragossī), L
 Joshua Ben Shemaryah, 35
- Josiah, Gā'ōn, 26
 Judah, Rabbi in Cairo, 38
 Judah Ben Jacob Ben Aaron, 183
 Judah ha-Kōhēn Ben Eleazar, Dayyān at Bilbais, 13
 Judah Maghribī, 183
 Judah Bar Solomon Bar Mē'ir, Ibn Jiwā', 179
- Kafr Kannah, 141
 Kafr Yasif, 263
 Kajjī, Benjamin, 237
 Kajjī, Isaac, 237
 Kalaf, oil-dealer, 71
 Ḳalyūb, 37
 Kamar, Sicilian, 185
 Kāmil, the Ayyubid, 38
 Ḳaṭyah, 139, XLVII
 Khaliḳ, Cairo, 54
 al-Khānḳah, 139
 Kibhrē Abhōth (Hebron?), 119
 Kifā', 37 ff.
 Ḳuzdīr (Ḳuzdār?), 44
- Lākish, 211
 Leben, 32
 Lēvī, 33 *et passim*
 Lfyj (?), 63
 "lion"-names, 32, 66, 67
 Lmāt (?), 67
- Ma'add, Sultan, 143
 al-Maghribī, 15
 al-Maḥallah, 15, 231
 Maimonides, 135, 177
 Malīj, 157 ff.
 Malkī'el (?), 235
 Maṣūr Ibn al-Khabīth, Byzantine Jew, 55
 Maṣūr Ibn Khalaf, 53
 Maṣūr Ibn Moses, Byzantine Jew, 55
 Manzalah, 231
 Market of Exchange, Cairo, 49
 Maṣliāh Ben Samuel Kōhēn, 259
 Ma'tūk, 257
 Māyō, Isaac, 191
 Mebhōrākh Ben Nathan, 11
 Mē'ir, Judah Bar Solomon Bar, 179
 Memūhamān Ben Yapheth, 29
 al-Mihdāwī, 3
 Minyat Ziftah, 13 ff.
 Mishnah, 261
 Miṭaṭrōn, angel, 77
 Monza, Monscia, 193
 Morocco, 94, 116
 Moses Ibn Abū Dirham, 171

- Moses Ibn al-Majānī, 69
 Moses Nakūb (?), 189
 Moses Ibn Raḍī, 133
 Moses di Trani (?), L
 Mu'ayyad, Sultan, 192
 Mubārak Ibn 'Udwān, 257
 Muḥammad Ibn Ḥusain Ibn 'Alī Ibn
 Manšūr, 83
 Muḥammad Ibn Lu'lu', 229
 Muḥammad Ibn Muṣṭaphā Ibn 'Abd Allāh,
 83
 al-Muharrab, 25
 Mūristān, 121
 Musayyar Ibn Jārah, 47

 Naaman, XXXVIII
 Nablus, 229
 Nahrāi Ben Nathan, 157 ff.
 Nahrāi Ben Nissim, 157 ff.
 Nahrāi Ibn Nissim, XXVII
 Nathan-Hibah, 27, 69
 Nathan, "the other witness," 183, 185, 189
 Nathan Ben Abraham, Nathan Ben Solo-
 mon, Father of the Law Court, "Second,"
 199
 Nathan ha-Kōhēn Ben Joseph ha-Kōhēn,
 35
 Nathan Ben Nahrāi, 157 ff.
 Nathan Ben Samuel, Scribe of the Jewish
 Court, 35
 Nathan Ben Solomon, 196
 Nathan Ben Zachariah, 27 ff.
 Nissim Ben Banāyah, 97
 Nissim al-Maghribī, 69

 Obadiah, His Excellency, 131
 Obadiah Ben Samuel Kōhēn, 259

 Perez, Rabbi, 255
 Persia, 68
 Pinto, Abraham, 235

 Rabba Bar Bar-Ḥannā, 205
 Raḍī, 133
 al-Ramlah, Academy at, 196 ff.
 Raphael Isaac Ben Aaron Mayo, or Maggio,
 190
 Rosetta, 165
 Rubā'iyah, 121

 Sadaḳah, the Glazier, 71
 Sadaḳah al-'Afīf, 131
 Sadaḳah Bin Jacob Bin al-Ḳal'ī, 32 ff.
 Sadaḳah al-Ṣafīn, 71
 Sadaḳah (Ṣedhāḳah) Ibn Sitt al-Ahl, 77 ff.

 Ṣafir, 131
 al-Ṣa'īd, 139
 al-Ṣa'īd al-Muwaffīḳ, 15 ff.
 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 13
 al-Ṣāliḥīyah, 139
 Samuel, 133
 Samuel Bahlūl, 263
 Samuel Ben Ḥalfōn ha-Lēvī, 259
 Samuel Ben Jacob, 259
 Samuel Karāblis, 183
 Samuel Maṣ'ūd, 257
 Samuel Ben Yōḥai, 253
 Sandabīs, 41
 Ibn Ṣanī'ah, 133
 Saragossa, L
 Sarūr Ben Sahlān, 127
 Sayyid Bū Sa'd...Ibn Abū Salāmah Ibn
 'Alī Ibn al-Maṣrī, 163
 Shabbatai Ben Abraham, of Minyat Ziftah,
 13 ff.
 al-Shafīḳ, 139
 Shapiro, 131
 al-Sharābī, 121
 Shbl al-Daulah, 51
 Shēlāh Bar 'Amram, 61
 Shēlāh Bar Yakin, 35
 Shema'ya Gā'ōn, 7
 Shilyā, 59 ff.
 Shukrah Ibn Moses, 131
 Sicilians, 75
 Sicily, 123
 Sikat, 171
 Sitt al-Ahl, 77 ff.
 Sitt al-Dār Bint Isaac, 59
 Sitt Nissim, 51
 Solomon Ben Abraham Ben Ezra, 29
 Solomon Ben David, 29
 Solomon Iskandarānī, 235
 Solomon Ben Judah, Gā'ōn, "First," 199
 Solomon Ben Khalaf al-Būḳī, 27 ff.
 Solomon ha-Kōhēn, 201
 Solomon Ibn Yaḥyā, 31
 Song of Solomon, cure for boils, 19 ff.
 Spanish ship, 123
 Stamboul, 181
 al-Sukkar, Ibn Ṣanī'ah, 133
 Sutait Bint Abraham, 37 ff.

 Tahchemonites, 137
 Tamīm Bar Joseph, 37 ff.
 Taposiris Magna, 96
 Ṭayyibān, 71
 al-Thīḳah, 15
 Tiberias, 23
 Tirmidh, 67

- | | |
|--|--|
| Tobiah, 143 ff. | Yaḥyā Bar Nissīm Bar Menahem, Ḥanūn, 187 |
| Tobiah Ben Daniel Gsbr, "Third," 201 | Yehōshua, 204 f. |
| Tripoli, 155 | Yehudah ha-Lēvī, poet, 91 |
| Turkey, 253 | al-Yemen, 1 ff. |
| Tyre, 127 | Yepheth Ben David Ben Shekhanya, 7 |
| ‘Ulāh ha-Lēvī Ben Joseph ha-Lēvī, 11 | Yepheth the Ḥazzān, 7 |
| ‘Ulā Abū ‘Umrān Moses, Reader of the Law, 19 ff. | Yeshāyā, 209 |
| ‘Umrān the Sicilian, 75 | Yōḥānān, 211 |
| Walad Isaac Abū Farāḥ, 67 | Zāhī, 257 |
| Yaḥyā, 179 | Zeira, 204 |
| | Zuckermann, 132 |

ARABIC AND HEBREW

See pp. xvi–xxii of the Introduction.

PRINTED BY W. LEWIS, M.A.
At the UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE

University of Michigan Studies

HUMANISTIC SERIES

General Editors : FRANCIS W. KELSEY and HENRY A. SANDERS

Size, 22.7 × 15.2 cm. 8°. Bound in cloth

VOL. I. ROMAN HISTORICAL SOURCES AND INSTITUTIONS. Edited by Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan. Pp. vii + 402. (*Out of print.*)

CONTENTS

1. THE MYTH ABOUT TARPEIA: Henry A. Sanders.
 2. THE MOVEMENTS OF THE CHORUS CHANTING THE CARMEN SAECULARE: Walter Dennison.
 3. STUDIES IN THE LIVES OF ROMAN EMPRESSES, JULIA MAMAEA: Mary Gilmore Williams, Mt. Holyoke College.
 4. THE ATTITUDE OF DIO CASSIUS TOWARD EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES: Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University.
 5. THE LOST EPITOME OF LIVY: Henry A. Sanders.
 6. THE PRINCIPALES OF THE EARLY EMPIRE: Joseph H. Drake, University of Michigan.
 7. CENTURIONS AS SUBSTITUTE COMMANDERS OF AUXILIARY CORPS: George H. Allen.
-

VOL. II. WORD FORMATION IN PROVENÇAL. By Edward L. Adams, University of Michigan. Pp. xvii + 607. \$4.00 net.

VOL. III. LATIN PHILOLOGY. Edited by Clarence Linton Meader, University of Michigan. Pp. vii + 290. (*Out of print.*)

Parts Sold Separately in Paper Covers :

- Part I. THE USE OF IDEM, IPSE, AND WORDS OF RELATED MEANING. By Clarence L. Meader. Pp. 1-112. \$0.75.
- Part II. A STUDY IN LATIN ABSTRACT SUBSTANTIVES. By Manson A. Stewart, Yankton College. Pp. 113-78. \$0.40.
- Part III. THE USE OF THE ADJECTIVE AS A SUBSTANTIVE IN THE DE RERUM NATURA OF LUCRETIVS. By Frederick T. Swan. Pp. 179-214. \$0.40.
- Part IV. AUTOBIOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS. By Henry H. Armstrong, Beloit College. Pp. 215-86. \$0.40.
-

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

OR

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

University of Michigan Studies—*Continued*

VOL. IV. ROMAN HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY. Edited by Henry A. Sanders. Pp. viii + 427. (*Out of print.*)

Parts Sold Separately in Paper Covers:

Part I. STUDIES IN THE LIFE OF HELIOGABALUS. By Orma Fitch Butler, University of Michigan. Pp. 1-169. \$1.25 net.

Part II. THE MYTH OF HERCULES AT ROME. By John G. Winter, University of Michigan. Pp. 171-273. \$0.50 net.

Part III. ROMAN LAW STUDIES IN LIVY. By Alvin E. Evans. Pp. 275-354. \$0.40 net.

Part IV. REMINISCENCES OF ENNIUS IN SILIUS ITALICUS. By Loura B. Woodruff. Pp. 355-424. \$0.40 net.

VOL. V. SOURCES OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS. By Rev. Dr Carl S. Patton. Pp. xiii + 263. \$1.30 net.

Size, 28 × 18.5 cm. 4to.

VOL. VI. ATHENIAN LEKYTHOI WITH OUTLINE DRAWING IN GLAZE VARNISH ON A WHITE GROUND. By Arthur Fairbanks, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. With 15 plates, and 57 illustrations in the text. Pp. viii + 371. Bound in cloth. \$4.00 net.

VOL. VII. ATHENIAN LEKYTHOI WITH OUTLINE DRAWING IN MATT COLOR ON A WHITE GROUND, AND AN APPENDIX: ADDITIONAL LEKYTHOI WITH OUTLINE DRAWING IN GLAZE VARNISH ON A WHITE GROUND. By Arthur Fairbanks. With 41 plates. Pp. x + 275. Bound in cloth. \$3.50 net.

VOL. VIII. THE OLD TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION. By Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan. With 9 plates showing pages of the Manuscripts in facsimile. Pp. viii + 357. Bound in cloth. \$3.50 net.

Parts Sold Separately in Paper Covers:

Part I. THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF DEUTERONOMY AND JOSHUA. With 3 folding plates. Pp. vi + 104. \$1.25 net.

Part II. THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF THE PSALMS. With 1 single plate and 5 folding plates. Pp. viii + 105-357. \$2.00 net.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

OR

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

University of Michigan Studies—*Continued*

VOL. IX. THE NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION. By Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan. With 8 plates showing pages of the Manuscripts in facsimile. Pp. x + 323. Bound in cloth. \$3.50 net.

Parts Sold Separately in Paper Covers :

Part I. THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF THE FOUR GOSPELS. With 5 plates. Pp. vii + 247. \$2.00 net.

Part II. THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF THE EPISTLES OF PAUL. With 3 plates. Pp. vii + 249-315. \$1.25 net.

VOL. X. THE COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION. By William H. Worrell, Hartford Seminary Foundation. With 12 plates. Pp. xxvi + 396. Bound in cloth. \$4.75 net.

Parts Sold Separately in Paper Covers :

Part I. THE COPTIC PSALTER. The Coptic text in the Sahidic Dialect, with an Introduction, and with 6 plates showing pages of the Manuscript and Fragments in Facsimile. Pp. xxvi + 112. \$2.00 net.

Part II. A HOMILY ON THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL BY CELESTINUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ROME, AND A HOMILY ON THE VIRGIN BY THEOPHILUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, FROM MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM. The Coptic Text, with an Introduction and Translation, and with 6 plates showing pages of the Manuscripts in facsimile. Pp. 113-396. \$2.50 net.

VOL. XI. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. (*Parts I and II ready.*)

Part I. ROBERT OF CHESTER'S LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE ALGEBRA OF AL-KHOWARIZMI. With an Introduction, Critical Notes, and an English Version. By Louis C. Karpinski, University of Michigan. With 4 plates showing pages of the Manuscripts in facsimile, and 25 diagrams in the text. Pp. vii + 164. Paper covers. \$2.00 net.

Part II. THE PRODROMUS OF NICOLAUS STENO'S LATIN DISSERTATION ON A SOLID BODY ENCLOSED BY PROCESS OF NATURE WITHIN A SOLID. Translated into English by John G. Winter, University of Michigan, with a Foreword by William H. Hobbs. With 7 plates. Pp. vii + 169-283. Paper covers. \$1.30 net.

Part III. VESUVIUS IN ANTIQUITY. Passages of Ancient Authors, with a Translation and Elucidations. By Francis W. Kelsey. Illustrated. (*In preparation.*)

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

OR

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

University of Michigan Studies—*Continued*

VOL. XII. STUDIES IN EAST CHRISTIAN AND ROMAN ART. By Charles R. Morey, Princeton University, and Walter Dennison. With 67 plates (10 colored) and 91 illustrations in the text. Pp. xiii + 175. Bound in cloth. \$4.75 net.

Parts Sold Separately:

Part I. EAST CHRISTIAN PAINTINGS IN THE FREER COLLECTION. By Charles R. Morey. With 13 plates (10 colored) and 34 illustrations in the text. Pp. xiii + 86. Bound in cloth. \$2.50 net.

Part II. A GOLD TREASURE OF THE LATE ROMAN PERIOD FROM EGYPT. By Walter Dennison. With 54 plates and 57 illustrations in the text. Pp. 89-175. Bound in cloth. \$2.50 net.

VOL. XIII. FRAGMENTS FROM THE CAIRO GENIZAH IN THE FREER COLLECTION. By Richard Gottheil, Columbia University, and William H. Worrell, University of Michigan. Text, with Translation, Notes and an Introduction. With 52 plates showing the different styles of writing in facsimile. Pp. xxxi + 273. Bound in cloth. \$4.00 net.

VOL. XIV. TWO STUDIES IN LATER ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ADMINISTRATION. By Arthur E. R. Boak and James E. Dunlap, University of Michigan. Pp. x + 324. Bound in cloth. \$2.25 net.

Parts Sold Separately in Paper Covers:

Part I. THE MASTER OF THE OFFICES IN THE LATER ROMAN AND BYZANTINE EMPIRES. By Arthur E. R. Boak. Pp. x + 160. \$1.00 net.

Part II. THE OFFICE OF THE GRAND CHAMBERLAIN IN THE LATER ROMAN AND BYZANTINE EMPIRES. By James E. Dunlap. Pp. 161-324. \$1.00 net.

VOL. XV. GREEK THEMES IN MODERN MUSICAL SETTINGS. By Albert A. Stanley, University of Michigan. With 10 plates. Pp. xxii + 385. Bound in cloth. \$4.00 net.

Parts Sold Separately in Paper Covers:

Part I. INCIDENTAL MUSIC TO PERCY MACKAYE'S DRAMA OF SAPPHO AND PHAON. Pp. 1-68. \$.90 net.

Part II. MUSIC TO THE ALCESTIS OF EURIPIDES WITH ENGLISH TEXT. Pp. 71-120. \$.80 net.

Part III. MUSIC FOR THE IPHIGENIA AMONG THE TAURIANS BY EURIPIDES, WITH GREEK TEXT. Pp. 123-214. \$.75 net.

Part IV. TWO FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC. Pp. 217-225. \$.30 net.

Part V. MUSIC TO CANTICA OF THE MENAECHMI OF PLAUTUS. Pp. 229-263. \$.50 net.

Part VI. ATTIS: A SYMPHONIC POEM. Pp. 265-384. \$1.00 net.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

OR

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

University of Michigan Studies—*Continued*

VOL. XVI. NICOMACHUS OF GERASA: INTRODUCTION TO ARITHMETIC. Translated into English by Martin Luther D'Ooge, with Studies in Greek Arithmetic by Frank Egleston Robbins and Louis C. Karpinski. Pp. vii + 318. Bound in cloth. \$3.50 net.

VOLS. XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX. ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE. Translated into English, with a transliteration of the Text and a Commentary. By Leroy Waterman, University of Michigan. (*In press.*)

VOL. XXI. THE MINOR PROPHETS IN THE FREER COLLECTION AND THE BERLIN FRAGMENT OF GENESIS. By Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, and Carl Schmidt, University of Berlin. With plates. (*In press.*)

VOL. XXII. A PAPYRUS CODEX OF THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS. By Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan. (*In press.*)

FACSIMILES OF MANUSCRIPTS

Size, 40.5 × 35 cm.

FACSIMILE OF THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF DEUTERONOMY AND JOSHUA IN THE FREER COLLECTION. With an Introduction by Henry A. Sanders. Pp. x; 201 heliotype plates. The University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1910.

Limited edition, distributed only to Libraries, under certain conditions. A list of Libraries containing this Facsimile is printed in *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, Volume VIII, pp. 351-53.

Size, 34 × 26 cm.

FACSIMILE OF THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF THE FOUR GOSPELS IN THE FREER COLLECTION. With an Introduction by Henry A. Sanders. Pp. x; 372 heliotype plates and 2 colored plates. The University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1912.

Limited edition, distributed only to Libraries, under certain conditions. A list of Libraries containing this Facsimile is printed in *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series*, Volume IX, pp. 317-20.

Size, 30.5 × 40.6 cm.

FACSIMILE OF THE WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPT OF THE MINOR PROPHETS IN THE FREER COLLECTION AND THE BERLIN FRAGMENT OF GENESIS. With an Introduction by Henry A. Sanders. With 130 heliotype plates. (*In press.*)

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

OR

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

University of Michigan Studies—*Continued*

SCIENTIFIC SERIES

Size, 28 × 18.5 cm. 4°. Bound in cloth

VOL. I. THE CIRCULATION AND SLEEP. By John F. Shepard, University of Michigan. Pp. ix + 83, with an Atlas of 63 plates, bound separately. Text and Atlas, \$2.50 net.

VOL. II. STUDIES ON DIVERGENT SERIES AND SUMMABILITY. By Walter B. Ford, University of Michigan. Pp. xi + 194. \$2.50.

Size, 23.5 × 15.5 cm.

VOL. III. THE GEOLOGY OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES. By H. A. Brouwer. With 18 plates and 17 text figures. Pp. xii + 160. \$3.00.

VOL. IV. THE GLACIAL ANTICYCLONES: THE POLES OF THE ATMOSPHERIC CIRCULATION. By William Herbert Hobbs. With 3 plates and 53 figures. Pp. xxiv + 198. \$2.75.

University of Michigan Publications

HUMANISTIC PAPERS

General Editor: EUGENE S. McCARTNEY

Size, 22.7 × 15.2 cm. 8°. Bound in cloth

THE LIFE AND WORK OF GEORGE SYLVESTER MORRIS: A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Robert M. Wenley, University of Michigan. Pp. xv + 332. \$1.50 net.

LATIN AND GREEK IN AMERICAN EDUCATION, WITH SYMPOSIA ON THE VALUE OF HUMANISTIC STUDIES. Edited by Francis W. Kelsey. Pp. x + 396. \$1.50. (*Out of print; new edition in preparation.*)

THE PRESENT POSITION OF LATIN AND GREEK, THE VALUE OF LATIN AND GREEK AS EDUCATIONAL INSTRUMENTS, THE NATURE OF CULTURE STUDIES.

SYMPOSIA ON THE VALUE OF HUMANISTIC, PARTICULARLY CLASSICAL, STUDIES AS A PREPARATION FOR THE STUDY OF MEDICINE, ENGINEERING, LAW AND THEOLOGY.

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE VALUE OF HUMANISTIC, PARTICULARLY CLASSICAL, STUDIES AS A TRAINING FOR MEN OF AFFAIRS.

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE CLASSICS AND THE NEW EDUCATION.

A SYMPOSIUM ON THE DOCTRINE OF FORMAL DISCIPLINE IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGY.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
OR

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers 64-66 Fifth Avenue New York

University of Michigan Publications—*Continued*

Size, 18 × 12 cm.

THE MENAECMI OF PLAUTUS. The Latin Text, with a Translation by Joseph H. Drake, University of Michigan. Pp. xi + 129. \$.60 net.

This edition of the Menaechmi was prepared, with stage directions, as a libretto for the presentation of the play at the University of Michigan in 1890. It was revised and republished in 1916.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

VOL. I. STUDIES IN SHAKESPEARE, MILTON AND DONNE. By Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan. Pp. viii + 232. Cloth. \$2.50.

VOL. II. ELIZABETHAN PROVERB LORE IN LYLY'S 'EUPHUES' AND IN PETTIE'S 'PETITE PALACE,' WITH PARALLELS FROM SHAKESPEARE. By Morris P. Tilley. Pp. x + 461. Cloth. \$3.50.

VOL. III. THE SOCIAL MODE OF RESTORATION COMEDY. By Kathleen M. Lynch. Pp. x + 242. Cloth. \$2.50.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

The first three volumes of this series were published as "Historical Studies" under the direction of the Department of History. Volumes IV and V were published without numbers.

VOL. I. A HISTORY OF THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET. By Mary Louise Hinsdale. Pp. ix + 355. Cloth. \$2.00.

VOL. II. ENGLISH RULE IN GASCONY, 1199-1259, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TOWNS. By Frank Burr Marsh. Pp. xi + 178. Cloth. \$1.25.

VOL. III. THE COLOR LINE IN OHIO; A HISTORY OF RACE PREJUDICE IN A TYPICAL NORTHERN STATE. By Frank Uriah Quillan. Pp. xvi + 178. Cloth. \$1.50.

VOL. IV. THE SENATE AND TREATIES, 1789-1817: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TREATY-MAKING FUNCTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE DURING THEIR FORMATIVE PERIOD. By Ralston Hayden, University of Michigan. Pp. xvi + 237. Cloth. \$1.50 net.

VOL. V. WILLIAM PLUMER'S MEMORANDUM OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, 1803-1807. Edited by Everett Somerville Brown, University of Michigan. Pp. xi + 673. Cloth. \$3.50.

VOL. VI. THE GRAIN SUPPLY OF ENGLAND DURING THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD. By W. F. Galpin, University of Oklahoma. Pp. xi + 305. Cloth. \$3.00.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

OR

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

University of Michigan Publications—*Continued*

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE MUSEUM OF GEOLOGY

VOL. I. THE STRATIGRAPHY AND FAUNA OF THE HACKBERRY STAGE OF THE UPPER DEVONIAN. By Carroll Lane Fenton and Mildred Adams Fenton. With 45 plates, 9 text figures and one map. Pp. xi + 260. Cloth. \$2.75.

All communications relative to the Numbers of Volume II should be addressed to the Librarian, General Library, University of Michigan.

- VOL. II. No. 1. A Possible Explanation of Fenestration in the Primitive Reptilian Skull, with Notes on the Temporal Region of the Genus *Dimetrodon*. By E. C. Case. Pp. 1-12, with five illustrations. \$0.30.
- No. 2. Occurrence of the Collingwood Formation in Michigan. By R. Ruedemann and G. M. Ehlers. Pp. 13-18. \$0.15.
- No. 3. Silurian Cephalopods of Northern Michigan. By Aug. F. Foerste. Pp. 19-86, with 17 plates. \$1.00.
- No. 4. A Specimen of *Stylemys nebrascensis* Leidy, with the Skull Preserved. By E. C. Case. Pp. 87-91, with 7 text figures. \$0.20.
- No. 5. Note on a New Species of the Eocene Crocodilian *Allognathosuchus A. wartheni*. By E. C. Case. Pp. 93-97, with 1 plate and 1 text figure. \$0.20.
- No. 6. Two New Crinoids from the Devonian of Michigan. By G. M. Ehlers. Pp. 99-104, with 1 plate. \$0.20.
- No. 7. New Brachiopods from the Warsaw Formation of Wayne County. By G. M. Ehlers and M. S. Chang. Pp. 105-111, with 1 plate. \$0.20.
- No. 8. The Richmond Formation of Michigan. By R. C. Hussey. Pp. 113-187, with 11 plates, 12 text figures and 1 map. \$0.75.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COLLECTIONS

CATALOGUE OF THE STEARNS COLLECTION OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (Second Edition). By Albert A. Stanley. With 40 plates. Pp. 276. \$4.00.

PAPERS OF THE MICHIGAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE, ARTS AND LETTERS

(Containing Papers submitted at Annual Meetings)

Editors: EUGENE S. McCARTNEY AND PETER OKKELBERG

Size, 24.2 x 16.5 cm. 8°. Bound in cloth

- VOL. I. (1921). With 38 plates, 1 text figure and 5 maps. Pp. xi + 424. \$2.00 net.
- VOL. II. (1922). With 11 plates and 7 text figures. Pp. xi + 226. \$2.00 net. Bound in paper, \$1.50 net.
- VOL. III (1923). With 26 plates, 15 text figures and 3 maps. Pp. xii + 473. \$3.00 net. Bound in paper, \$2.25 net.
- VOL. IV (1924), PART I. With 27 plates, 22 text figures and 3 maps. Pp. xii + 631. \$3.00 net. Bound in paper, \$2.25 net.
- VOL. IV (1924), PART II. A KEY TO THE SNAKES OF THE UNITED STATES, CANADA AND LOWER CALIFORNIA. By Frank N. Blanchard. With 78 text figures. Pp. xiii + 65. \$1.75.
- VOL. V (1925). Pp. xii + 479. With 27 plates, 26 text figures and 1 map. \$3.00 net. Bound in paper, \$2.25 net.
- VOLS. VI, VII (1926). (*In press.*)

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

OR

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers

64-66 Fifth Avenue

New York

HELLENIC HISTORY

By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD

A survey of Greek life from its primitive beginnings to the year 30 B.C., with an account of the political, social, economic, artistic, intellectual, and religious development. The book is abundantly illustrated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	CHAPTER
I. Country and People	XVI. The Age of Pericles: (III) Society and Public Works
II. The Minoan Age	XVII. The Age of Pericles: (IV) Thought, Culture, and Character
III. The Middle Age. Transition from Minoan to Hellenic Life	XVIII. The Peloponnesian War to the Beginning of the Sicilian Expedition
IV. Economic Growth and Colonial Expansion	XIX. The Sicilian Expedition and the Last Years of the War
V. Evolution of the City-State, Amphictyonies, and Leagues	XX. A Cultural Revolution
VI. Crete, Lacedaemon, and the Peloponnesian League	XXI. The Lacedaemonian Empire and the Ascendency of Thebes
VII. Athens: From Monarchy to Democracy	XXII. Sicily and Magna Graecia
VIII. Intellectual Awakening: (I) Social and Literary Progress	XXIII. The Rise of Macedon to 337
IX. Intellectual Awakening: (II) Religious, Moral, and Scientific Progress	XXIV. Economy and Society
X. Conquest of the Asiatic Greeks by the Lydians and the Persians	XXV. Social Aspects of the State
XI. The War with Persia and Carthage	XXVI. Art and Intelligence in the Fourth Century
XII. The Age of the War Heroes: (I) Political and Economic	XXVII. Alexander's Empire and the Hellenistic Kingdoms
XIII. The Age of the War Heroes: (II) Society and Culture	XXVIII. The Organization and Administration of the Hellenistic States
XIV. The Age of Pericles: (I) Imperialism	XXIX. Hellenistic Culture: (I) City Construction and Art
XV. The Age of Pericles: (II) The Athenian Democracy	XXX. Hellenistic Culture: (II) Philosophy, Science, and Literature

Price \$4.00

A HISTORY OF ROME TO 565 A.D.

By ARTHUR E. R. BOAK, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Michigan

A well-proportioned and accurately written history of Rome from the beginning of civilization in Italy to 565 A.D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Sources for the Study of Early Roman History

PART I

The Forerunners of Rome in Italy

PART II

The Early Monarchy and the Republic, from Prehistoric Times to 27 B.C.

PART III

The Principate or Early Empire: 27 B.C.—285 A.D.

PART IV

The Autocracy or Late Empire: 285—565 A.D.

Epilogue Chronological Table Bibliographical Note Index

Price \$3.25

On sale wherever books are sold

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers 64-66 Fifth Avenue New York

HANDBOOKS OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTIQUITIES

EDITED BY PERCY GARDNER AND FRANCIS W. KELSEY

THE PRINCIPLES OF GREEK ART

By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., Lincoln and Merton Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford.

Makes clear the artistic and psychological principles underlying Greek art, especially sculpture, which is treated as a characteristic manifestation of the Greek spirit, a development parallel to that of Greek literature and religion. While there are many handbooks of Greek archaeology, this volume holds a unique place.

New Edition. Illustrated. Cloth \$3.25

HANDBOOK OF GREEK SCULPTURE

By ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., Professor of Archaeology in University College, London.

A comprehensive outline of our present knowledge of Greek sculpture, distinguishing the different schools and periods, and showing the development of each. This volume, fully illustrated, fills an important gap and is widely used as a text-book.

Illustrated. Cloth \$4.25

ATHENS AND ITS MONUMENTS

By CHARLES HEALD WELLER, of the University of Iowa.

This book embodies the results of many years of study and of direct observation during different periods of residence in Athens. It presents in concise and readable form a description of the ancient city in the light of the most recent investigations. Profusely illustrated with Half-tones and Line Engravings.

Illustrated. Cloth \$4.00

ROMAN FESTIVALS

By W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A., Fellow and Sub-Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

This book covers in a concise form almost all phases of the public worship of the Roman state, as well as certain ceremonies which, strictly speaking, lay outside that public worship. It will be found very useful to students of Roman literature and history as well as to students of anthropology and the history of religion.

Cloth \$2.50

On sale wherever books are sold

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Publishers 64-66 Fifth Avenue New York

GTU Library



3 2400 00671 8203

GTU Library
2400 Ridge Road
Berkeley, CA 94709
For renewals call (510) 649-2500
All items are subject to recall.

31538

